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Bonn decides to defer missile decision



What does a government do when it is caught on the horns of a dilemma? It postpones the decision, which is what Bonn has just done.

Claiming there is no need for immediate action, Chancellor Kohl has chosen to bide his time on a decision that concerns the Americans and Nato.

On modernisation of the Lance short-range nuclear missiles stationed in Germany the Chancellor is not prepared to commit himself one way or the other before 1991.

The ambivalence is self-evident, with one half being aptly summarised by the liberal left-wing Paris daily newspaper *Libération* as follows:

"Helmut Kohl reads the opinion polls" (which indicate substantial majorities against modernisation and for total denuclearisation in the defence of Europe).

Herr Kohl has more in mind. He knows, for instance, that his Foreign Minister is keen to circumvent missile modernisation.

Foreign Minister Genscher was the man who persuaded his party, the Free Democrats, to throw in their lot with the Chancellor's Christian Democrats in 1982.

Herr Kohl needs the Free Democrats as coalition partners to retain a majority even though the FDP may not, at present, be in a position to join forces with the Social Democrats and form an SPD-FDP coalition.

The Chancellor has no intention of waging another "missile campaign" along the lines of the 1983 general election campaign, but this time without the support of Herr Genscher, who was a staunch supporter of missile modernisation in 1983.

What use are missiles, he may argue, if you forfeit power by championing them?

The other horn of the dilemma is Nato. America, Britain and France, our three leading partners in Nato, all now have their doubts about us West Germans.

Even the Dutch, who virtually invented the peace movement in 1978, have their doubts.

They suspect us of being too long on Gorbimania and too short on realism, too keen on disarmament and not keen enough on defence preparedness.

They are afraid Bonn may be tempted to "Germanise" East-West ties in Europe, or see German (special) interests as their sole yardstick.

So intellectual trouble lies ahead for the North Atlantic pact, as is best evidenced by the hue and cry over Libya, the extent of which on both sides of the Atlantic can only be explained as a *pars pro toto* in the mind's eye.

What with accrued mistrust on the one side and growing resentment on the other, the volatile mixture merely awaits a media spark to ignite the fuse.

Besides, the frame of nations' minds must not be taken lightly; in democratic systems appearances often count for more than the facts of the case.

The governments in Bonn and Washington have been slow to appreciate the problem, but they have not been too late in recognising it.

Chancellor Kohl had already sent Herr Schäuble, Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office, to Washington to reassure the US administration; President Bush followed suit by sending Secretary of State Baker to Bonn on the first leg of his first foreign tour.

The pattern has been a long-established one in German-American relations: the classic triad of excitement, coming down to earth and relaxation of tension.

Bonn has shown itself to be particularly ready for reconciliation where action was most urgently needed: on exports of sensitive chemicals and equipment.

Stricter export regulations more intelligently administered are now to ensure that there will be no repetition of Rabta, the poison gas factory in Libya that German firms helped to equip, to sour transatlantic ties.

No agreement has yet been reached on Nato's future in the Gorbachov era. This point was clear despite references to "extraordinarily warm and cordial talks" and the harmony they might seem to suggest.

In a nutshell, the Americans and other Nato partners are keen to see short-range nuclear missiles modernised, Herr Genscher isn't and Herr Kohl is biding his time.

The immediate outcome is already clear. The Chancellor's domestic weakness is his most effective bargaining point in foreign affairs.

His unspoken threat to Washington and Whitehall is: "If you aren't prepared to come to terms with me you may have to try and do so with an SPD-FDP or SPD-Green coalition after the 1990 German general election."

With this possibility in the pipeline, Bonn's allies cannot be keen to exert too much pressure, so Chancellor Kohl has the better of the argument over missile modernisation as matters stand.

Yet that fails to answer an entirely different question: what are Bonn's views on Nato and the deterrent? Can Herr Kohl claim to be in favour of neither a third zero solution nor modernisation when the ageing Lance missiles will phase themselves down to zero from 1995?

Can other CDU/CSU leaders field the convenient argument "the shorter the range, the deader the Germans" yet ignore the inference that longer ranges are then needed?

Answers to these questions may be avoided for a while, but sooner or later both the Germans themselves and their allies will clamour for a clear answer.

Maybe disarmament will by then have taken the edge of these dilemmas, with a reliable containment of East Bloc military might making the reasons why Nato endorsed the nuclear option 35 years ago pale in significance.

That is evidently what the Kohl-Genscher government hopes, and not without some justification given the So-

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Point of view

British Premier Margaret Thatcher tries out her opera glasses, a present from Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right). The two leaders met in Frankfurt for talks on European Community and defence topics. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

North Atlantic ties matter more than ever

Bremer Nachrichten

Western European integration was said by Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, at the end of US Secretary of State James Baker's first visit to Europe, to be a fruitful contribution toward international economic development in all sectors.

No-one threw stones at the glass-and-concrete European Community headquarters in Berlaymont, Brussels. Mr Baker and his European hosts were most easy with each other.

Had not President Bush said that very day that Washington and Bonn were much closer than was publicly apparent — and that he was not unduly worried about Nato unity?

It was, of course, striking that Mr Baker chose not to hold a press conference either after his talks with Nato secretary-general Manfred Wörner or after his visit to the European Commission.

That was an unusual move for an American politician; US politicians are usually keen on publicity. Herr Wörner and M. Delors had nothing to say in public either.

Yet talk of a crisis and the impending demise of Nato ignores two facts that are the bedrock of transatlantic ties between North American and European democracies.

Their economic ties are so intricately

Continued on page 2

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Middle East states fear superpowers might impose solution on them

In few countries are speculation, rumour and surmise more rife than in Israel, partly because even minor details in world affairs can be of vital importance to what is a small country.

An item that made headline news in the Israeli media was the visit to Moscow by a basketball team from Tel Aviv.

It was seen as yet another small sign of rapprochement with a superpower that is doing its utmost to stay in the running in a crisis-torn part of the world.

Only two days after the Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan Eduard Shevardnadze set out on the first major tour of the Middle East for decades by a Soviet Foreign Minister.



His aim was reap the harvest of the Soviet withdrawal from the Islamic resistance movement, as envisaged by Soviet new thinking, which seeks to combine military appeasement and a diplomatic offensive.

But Moscow will not be able to really establish itself as a credible mediator alongside the United States until diplomatic relations with Israel, broken off in 1967, have been resumed.

This is a move that might well be made before the end of the year. It is certainly in keeping with the logic of a Soviet foreign policy aimed at helping to solve regional conflicts as a partner rather than as an adversary.

There has been no lack of clear pointers to the Kremlin's new policy toward Israel. Poland, Hungary and even the reluctant GDR have shown signs of readiness to talk and even to restore normal diplomatic relations.

The Soviet Union too has demonstrated an unprecedented ease in dealing with a state it had previously vilified as its Zionist arch-enemy.

The number of Jews granted exit permits by the Soviet authorities has increased by leaps and bounds. Israeli consular offices in the Soviet capital are soon to return to their erstwhile embassy building, and after the Armenian earthquake Israeli military aircraft flew aid shipments to the Soviet Union.

These signs of readiness to reach understanding (and this list is by no means complete) are bound to trigger misgivings among hawks in the Arab camp, especially in Syria.

Understandably, Mr Shevardnadze began his tour in Damascus, which is still keen, with Soviet assistance, to achieve the position of military strength President Assad sees as striking a strategic balance with Israel.

If the Soviet Union were to succeed in taming Syria and making Damascus readier to negotiate, a great step would have been taken toward an international peace conference.

Israel would virtually no longer be able to resist if Moscow were to use the resumption of diplomatic relations to bring pressure to bear.

Leading Israeli politicians are agreed that one key to peace clearly lies in Moscow, while the other is held, hesitantly, by the new US President.

The forthcoming visit to Washington by Premier Shamir of Israel will show what use President Bush plans to make of his key role. The small states at loggerheads in the region are afraid the superpowers might go over their heads to resolve matters in the Middle East, where Washington and Moscow were last brought to the brink of direct confrontation in 1973.

This fear could have a salutary effect. The outlook certainly seems encouraging now the United States has embarked on a dialogue with the PLO and there are increasing signs in Washington that the US government is losing patience with an Israeli government that is hitting out instead of heeding what it is told.

Moscow's moderating influence on Syria and the PLO, which was seen at work in Algiers, and Washington's gentle pressure on Israel will not, on their own, be enough to arrive at a political solution to a conflict to which any attempt to arrive at a military solution can only lead to catastrophe.

There must be changes both in Israel and in the Palestinian camp.

The talks in Jerusalem between Faisal el Husseini, who is acknowledged to be the most important PLO representative in the occupied territories, and Israeli politicians are a ground for hope that the first steps have been taken.

If both superpowers were to seek to support these first steps toward common sense the long road to peace ought to be negotiable.

For Israel this would mean that one day a game by basketball players from Tel Aviv, no matter where in the world it took place, would be given coverage on the sports page only — which is where sports reports belong.

Jörg Reckmann
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 February 1989)

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Interlinked that they are condemned to success, as it were.

What is more, they are not just a group of states geared to market economy principles; they also share common values. Only about three dozen members of the United Nations are democracies.

These common values are based on a sound and respectable economic foundation. Last year but one European investment in the United States totalled $160bn, US investment in the European Community over $120bn.

There are almost daily reports of fresh takeovers in both directions. Between them the European Community and the United States account for a third of the volume of world trade, 40 per cent of the world's GNP, 55 per cent of its motor-cars and 77 per cent of the world's output of aircraft.

America and the European Community are in the same boat. Internationally they have a common interest in advocating free world trade.

Trade between America and the Pacific Basin states may be roughly twice as high as with the European Community, while economic growth rates in Asia are, at eight to nine per cent, three times as high as in Europe.

But the European Community, in merging its 12 national economies into a single internal market, will be mobilising enormous economic reserves and stands a fair chance of achieving growth rates of over four per cent, on a par with Japan's.

US interest in the European market is almost audibly on the increase. The Senate noted at the end of January that Europe enjoyed high trade policy priority for the United States.

The European internal market may be decried as a fortress on the other side of the Atlantic but it is also a link between the North Atlantic nations. Economic ties are set to increase, not to decline.

As for short-range missile modernisation, Belgium and Holland have voiced understanding for America, which is keen, as is Britain, to reach a decision on the issue so as to be able to negotiate with Moscow from a position of strength on a missile balance.

But they also appreciate Bonn's position. Bonn would prefer to defer the decision.

Both Washington and Bonn refer to building bridges. All 16 Nato members will have no choice to build them; they need each other as much as ever.

Hermann Bohle
(Bremer Nachrichten, 20 February 1989)

More realistic bids to forge unity in Arab world

Wahda, or unity of the Arab nation, long predominated in Arab world politics. It was the credo of Arab nationalism.

All "progressive" Arab leaders, from Nasser to Gaddafi, have sought to unite the Arabs as a nation from the Atlantic to the Gulf.

Past decades have shown this objective to be a utopian wish, and this experience has led to experiments in regional cooperation.

Four Arab countries — Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and North Yemen — have decided to set up an Arab Economic Community,

Their cooperation is to begin with closer collaboration in the economic sector, to be followed by political cooperation.

There is no longer any talk of a merger, as in the days of the United Arab Republic.

Apart from this regional venture, which has yet to show its worth, there are two other areas in the Arab world that have already achieved closer cooperation (or plan to set about it soon).

The Gulf Cooperation Council, set up eight years ago, works fairly well. It consists of the six conservative Arab Gulf states Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman.

Saudi Arabia predominates in the GCC, which is not to everyone's liking, but in general the six states are so homogenous that they have been able to establish a modicum of unity.

They all have conservative, traditional systems of government. They all have petroleum revenues, although differing in degree. They all bear the hallmark of a Beduin past weakened by progress but still very much apparent.

The second region that plans greater unity is the Maghreb, where the heads of state met in Marrakesh to discuss ways and means of setting up a Greater Arab Maghreb.

This is still a distant prospect, if not impossible. The most important prerequisite is for member-countries to bury the hatchet and harmonise their political systems to some extent.

In Algeria an attempt is under way in the form of constitutional amendments that will set socialism aside.

A Maghreb merger does not seem entirely out of the question inasmuch as the three "core" countries — Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia — have much in common.

It includes a mixed Arab-Berber population, a common history (in part), similar geographical and agricultural conditions and the influence of French language and culture.

But what about the new Arab Economic Community in the Mashreq, the Arab East?

The statistics sound an impressive note. The four countries that plan to join forces comprise roughly half the population of the Arab world. There are more than 50 million Egyptians alone.

Yet three of the four are, basically, have-nots.

North Yemen is densely populated and has long supplied the Arab peninsula with migrant workers.

Economically, Egypt would appear to be a bottomless pit, while even Jordan, stable though it might be, can hardly be described as a major economic power.

Iraq alone can lay claim to this status. The four countries signed their pact in Baghdad, the Iraqi capital.

Iraq is densely populated and has petroleum reserves on a par with Saudi Arabia's. Its economy has, of course, been set back by the eight-year Gulf War and will first need to recover.

The community is also burdened by substantial differences between its member-states. Can Egypt, which is fairly Westernised, the Kingdom of the Jordan, the tribal society of Yemen and Iraq, with its nationalist Baath Party rule, get on with each other in the long term.

It remains to be seen whether economic cooperation between them will function to any great extent.

Wolfgang Günter Lerch
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 February 1989)

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■ LIBYAN GAS FACTORY

Making chemical weapons was its sole aim, admits Bonn minister

The Bonn Cabinet has increased the maximum penalty for Germans involved in the manufacture of chemical weapons from two to 15 years' jail. This follows allegations that German firms helped build a factory for chemical weapons in Libya. Wolfgang Schäuble, Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office, said the factory was "not only suitable (for the production of chemical weapons) but intended from the very start to make nothing but." This story is by Klaus Broichhausen of the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung."

The outcry has been shrill since West German companies and scientists were suspected of having colluded in the production of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Now the lessons can be learned from this episode.

The mesh of the control net must be drawn closer together. The 1961 Foreign Trade Law should state more precisely what technology, materials and documentation may be handed over to someone else. Contraventions must be punished more severely.

National controls are not enough. They must be improved internationally, so that technical equipment and documentation do not end up in the wrong hands.

To protect their good reputation German exporters, together with trade associations and chambers of commerce, must take more care whether technical know-how could be mis-used.

At the latest by Easter the Bonn government will decided how to apply greater controls and impose more severe penalties for infringements.

The Bonn government has reported to the Bundestag on the interim investigation about the Libyan affair and the measures planned to prevent such a situation arising again.

Government departments involved have confirmed that it is not all that easy to apply stricter controls. The easiest solution is to create new posts in the licencing and control authorities, despite the bottlenecks in the budget.

Difficulties also arise from the regulations governing civil servants in engaging the right experts.

Tricks with illegal exports can be spotted sooner if highly qualified technicians, chemists and physists, who are well versed in the individual materials and processes, take part in supervision.

The urgency for making improvements to the Foreign Trade Law was particularly obvious in the following instances:

The obligation, applied in 1984, to obtain a permit for chemicals plant, which is "suitable" for researching, producing, processing and testing phosphorus-organic compounds, mustard gas and other highly toxic compounds, is only vaguely formulated in the export list. There is no clear definition about which individual technical process is involved.

The know-how about how a plant of this kind functions could be passed on to a Libyan, Iraqi or Syrian with impunity.

It would be an infringement of the law, however, if there were dealings with an official organisation or nationals from the East Bloc, China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam.

They are included in the control system operated by the Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy (Cocom). It is easy to call for legal clarity concerning exports of technology and documentation to certain countries. It is more difficult to create a solid basis in law for controls and penalties.

If technology is primarily to be used for civil purposes, but could be mis-applied for military ends, then it is difficult to sort out items which can be exported and those which must have a licence or are even prohibited for export.

There are also headaches about the list of countries to which an embargo should be applied. Until now the list has officially only included countries which can be supplied according to Cocom rules, and for South Africa.

For a long time there have been internal instructions restricting certain exports to regions of tension in the Third World.

It remains to be seen whether the government dares formally to extend the list. Such a list would have to include the whole of the Middle East, including Israel, as well as India and Pakistan, both purchasers of nuclear technology.

Penalities are equally difficult. It is easy to call for tougher sanctions, but it is not so easy to define punishable acts and the sentences that should be applied.

It is agreed that attempts at making a fortune from illegal exports must be made more risky with the possibility of heavy fines and imprisonment. The deterrent effect must be reinforced.

It is justifiable to recommend, however, that a sense of balance should not be lost as regards punishments.

But the punishment must not be so lenient that when it comes to illegal exports the possible penalty is taken into account as an acceptable risk. The deterrent effect must be serious in intent.

There is considerable controversy whether government legislation should make it a punishable offence for German nationals abroad to assist outside this country in the production of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

If this were to become standard then the government would have to face considerable anger in foreign and development aid policies, and in academic exchanges.

Then German scientists and technicians, cooperating in the development and production of American chemical weapons would have to be punished.

If there are to be effective controls and severe penalties then data protection regulations must be relaxed. There is inevitably a link between greater

Frankfurter Allgemeine

controls and the exchange of information between the authorities responsible, making available to them more background material for the prevention and pursuit of illegal exports.

Exporting companies must allow the authorities access to their confidential affairs.

Intensive controls also imply more red-tape. Even if more people are employed in supervision of exports, there will be delays in granting licences and handling exports.

In addition the entrepreneurial room for manoeuvre for some exporters will be smaller, although a basic principle of the *Foreign Trade Law* is that the export industry should remain free of restrictions. That is the price of controls.

Klaus Broichhausen
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 February 1989)

Formulas for poisons 'are frighteningly simple'

The Hippokrates Verlag, Stuttgart, published the 132-page *Chemische Gifte und Kampfstoffe* (Chemical poisons and weapons) in 1983.

This book included everything that the 1,500 chemicals companies in the Federal Republic needed to know about chemical weapons.

German chemists allegedly know no more than was contained in this book — and they have an explanation to hand for this.

In 1954, in the Brussels treaties, the Federal Republic renounced the production and possession of chemical weapons.

Furthermore the Federal Republic is the only country in the world so far in which the chemicals industry is voluntarily subject to annual controls by an international commission of the Western European Union.

How is it then possible for German companies, directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly, to be involved in the production of chemical weapons in Libya and Iraq?

The answer is both astonishing and simple: basically that was not possible.

Only ten companies in the Federal Republic produce materials which are on the "Warning List."

These companies are: Bayer, BASF, Hoechst, Degussa, Kali-Chemie, Preussag, Riedel de Haen, Dr Schuler & Lange in Hamburg, Athenstadt & Redeker in Bremen and the Chemische Fabrik Berg in Lüdenscheid.

According to one expert, this small group of chemical companies, which handle dangerous chemicals, know one another well. Usually they are well informed about each other's business.

Because of these close links it has more than once happened that "touchy" deliveries have been halted, because a competitor (or a friend?) has alerted the authorities responsible.

This has all happened, of course, without drawing public attention to the case — obviously companies do not want to scare off possible customers.

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

In September 1986 the Federal Republic, along with its Western partners, agreed a warning list, which was sent to all members of the German Chemicals Industry Association. This list included materials which could be used in textiles, for pest controls or even as water-softeners of tartar solvents.

In the right combinations thiodiglycol or phosphorous oxychloride can be converted into mustard gas or the nerve gas tabun. Because of this, at the outbreak of the war between Iran and Iraq, the chemicals industry included the export of the most dangerous chemicals on the export list which automatically made them liable for an export licence.

The list was constantly re-examined and extended — and this took place within the "Australian Initiative," in which the governments of 19 western states are represented, states which account for 80 per cent of world chemicals exports.

Russia, East Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, the Republic of Korea, Israel, Finland and Pakistan also cooperate with the Initiative.

This Initiative lays down rules for which chemicals can be exported and in what quantities. This should hamper the production of chemical weapons.

But mis-use can never be ruled out, of course. Experts claim that it is not difficult to acquire the necessary chemicals for the production of chemical weapons.

Of the world production of 144 million tons of phosphates, for example, 22 million tons come from Morocco and the West Sahara and 6.5 million tons from Tunisia.

Equally vital elements such as carbons and hydrogens are supplied by refineries and petro-chemicals plant on the spot.

Nitrogen and oxygen are available all over the world in unlimited quantities and free of charge.

The formulae for the poisons are frighteningly simple, their effects devastating.

Complicated plant is not required for their production, just relatively simple laboratories.

A technical laboratory for the development and production of vaccines would be adequate — and today there are laboratories of this sort in many developing countries.

"Have German companies then supplied materials to Libya or Iraq which could be used to make chemical weapons?

According to statistics from the Association of the Chemicals Industry 71 million tons of chemical products were exported to Libya from the Federal Republic last year, that is, less than one per cent of the chemical industry's total exports.

Synthetics valued at DM20m were supplied and DM12m of pharmaceuticals products. These were the two largest items in a long list.

It is hard to say what lay behind every delivery. Even the smallest amount could be too much.

Klaus Dieter Oehler
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 February 1989)

■ EUROPE

Brussels has difficulty in keeping tabs on narcotics trade and cash laundering

To call Manuel Angel del Pomar Cárdenas an honourable man would, until recently, have been almost an understatement.

He was a Peruvian MP, chairman of his country's parliamentary commission on human rights, president of the Peruvian Association of Chambers of Attorneys and an ardent advocate of moral standards in public life.

His image as a paragon of propriety seemed so unshakable that he grew overconfident.

How else is one to explain the fact that he ill-advisedly tried, on 28 September 1988, to cash a cheque for DM180,000 drawn on the account of a narcotics dealer, Manuel García, at a Berlin branch of the Commerzbank?

Instead of leaving the bank with a handsome some of money he spent eight hours being interrogated at the Berlin police headquarters.

His diplomatic passport prevented him from having to submit to greater indignity, but his career as both a paragon of propriety and a cash courier was well and truly over.

The German authorities are not particularly interested in who will take his place. What interests them is what Peruvian narcotics money is doing in a German bank account.

What can they do about it? The case has certainly shattered a number of fond illusions, such as that the narcotics Mafia rely on the United States and Italy while laundering their ill-gotten gains in Switzerland.

Del Pomar's old friend García was arrested in Lima on 1 September 1988 for smuggling cocaine into the Federal Republic of Germany in truck wheels.

He was in contact with dealers in Britain and Germany. The barefaced way in which Del Pomar tried to withdraw cash from his account four weeks later shows he had no fear of inconvenient questions by the bank.

The Berlin public prosecutor is still probing García's ties in the Federal Republic.

The bank refuses to comment in any way, arguing that the matter is under jurisdiction. The public prosecutor is satisfied with the assistance the bank has given, but the bank is not keen to publicise the fact.

What is the bank's general policy in such circumstances? Not, it seems, to ask as a rule where cash deposits originate.

Commerzbank officials say they see no need to consider more closely substantial remittances to and from Peru, the world's second-largest cocaine producer. "Banking secrecy" is all they have to say on the subject.

The Federal Association of German Banks holds a similar viewpoint. It sees bids to trace the path of narcotics money mainly as the result of pressure by the US authorities.

"There is a risk," the association warns, "of money laundering being cited as a pretext for probing all tax offences or offences of whatever kind in the United States."

The banks are caught in a cleft stick. They can't, for reasons of self-preservation, be keen to increasingly associated with laundering ill-gotten gains.

Yet they are afraid that checks of their own or evident cooperation with



the authorities in tracing narcotics proceeds could plunge them into legal conflicts.

They might also make honest citizens *feel mistrustful and, last but not least,* place them at a disadvantage in relation to banks or countries that are less particular.

Doubts as to the feasibility or legality of checks are not the reason why banks are so hesitant. The Council of Europe's Ministerial committee made it clear in June 1980 how important the banks' cooperation is in combating the laundering of illicit cash.

"The banking system can play a very important part in prevention," the committee said, "and the banks' cooperation is also most useful in helping the courts and the police to bring offenders to book."

But German banks take a dim view of a code of conduct as a means of keeping tabs on narcotics cash.

That, they argue, might be alright in a small country such as Switzerland but in the Federal Republic any attempt to adopt this approach would come to grief at the hands of the Monopolies Commission.

The 10 national banking supervision agencies on the Basle committee (from seven European countries, Canada, the United States and Japan) saw a need to draw up such a code of conduct last December.

It would, they felt, encourage banks to be more vigilant with regard to misuse of the payments system, to introduce effective defence mechanisms and to collaborate with the authorities.

This is, in part, a reference to principles that ought to be self-evident. The banks ought not to offer services or aid and abet transactions they may have grounds for assuming are connected with laundering ill-gotten gains.

Yet some demands are more far-reaching. They are expected to cooperate fully with the authorities, to train and sensitise staff and to introduce special procedures by which to identify customers and to keep internal records of transactions.

Banks' internal accountancy procedures might need to be overhauled to ensure that full cooperation is possible.

The Basle committee's document is not legally binding in any way, but national supervision agencies undertake to advocate the code of conduct and to encourage banks in their countries to do so.

The background to this unusual move is that Europe is fast becoming the world's most lucrative narcotics market.

Interpol general secretary Raymond Kendall noted in December 1988 at a conference of customs authorities in Brussels that illegal organisations were earning billions of dollars in Europe.

One kilogram of cocaine could earn up to $600,000. It was only a matter of time before bona fide companies would be affected by narcotics cash.

"Europe today is the crossroads of the international narcotics trade," he said. "Its banks are of vital importance to dealers. We must make it impossible for them to use legitimate European financial institutions."

Robert Dickerson, general secretary of the Customs Cooperation Council, to which 106 customs authorities belong, feels a data bank is indispensable. It would make it easier to keep tabs on narcotics cash.

The UN convention on the narcotics trade agreed at the end of December requires signatory states to make legal provision for tracking down and confiscating narcotics proceeds.

The European countries can hardly refuse to do so after having accused the producer countries for so long of dragging their feet at the negotiations that led to the convention.

Yet these moves all go too far for the liking of some national officials and some commercial banks. A European Community official explains why:

"These operations are naturally most profitable, and any bank manager will be delighted to conduct a substantial transaction.

"That is why an awareness must be created of the fact that the banking system must not allow itself to be misused by the narcotics trade."

The European Commission has plans to introduce control mechanisms to counteract money laundering. A working session has already been held with representatives of national authorities.

A strict system of supervision of banking transactions exceeding $10,000, as in the United States, is ruled out.

It would be a step forward, the Commission feels, if laundering money were to be made a criminal offence in all member-countries.

At the Community level a start could be made to requiring strict identity checks in transactions exceeding a certain amount. It remains to be seen whether and when the European Commission will make specific proposals.

Combating money laundering is not part of the internal market programme, officials laconically comment.

Britain and Spain are the only European Community countries with specific legislation on their statute books. The Dutch have legislation in the pipeline.

The United States is indignant about the Europeans' slackness, fearing that their own efforts are frequently thwarted as a result of it.

The Europeans in contrast accuse the Americans of trying, via Drug Enforcement Agency officials, to enforce US law in other countries.

The problem could be solved by bilateral agreements between governments, but cooperation of this kind so far exists only between the United States and much-maligned Switzerland.

Other European countries lack legal facilities by which to supply the Americans with the information requested.

The Bonn government is well aware of the danger posed by the financial clout of the narcotics trade:

"The risk of society being destabilised by the economic potential of criminal organisations has taken specific shape in a number of Third World countries, but it is a potential risk in advanced industrialised countries such as the Federal Republic too."

This earnest assessment of the situation is made by the Bonn Justice Ministry in explaining proposals to amend the criminal code to make it easier to confiscate the assets of convicted narcotics dealers.

The risk has been seen for what it is, but is the antidote adequate?

Customs officials feel it is intolerable that customs and narcotics squad investigations are brought to a halt at the bank teller's window.

They feel checks of substantial banking transactions are one of the successful ways of tracking narcotics dealers down.

Another is to allow supplies that have been identified to enter the country and to check their progress so as to identify the distribution network.

Yet they still feel keeping tabs on the cash is the most effective means of identifying the men behind the trade.

The dealers' problem is that they have to invest gigantic amounts of cash somehow or other in international markets, and that can't always be done by carrying cash around in a briefcase.

At present an individual's account can only be checked in Europe if he or she is suspected of a specific offence. When this is the case the banks are said to be most helpful.

But controlling cash flows as a means of identifying suspects in the first place is ruled out. And that is not all.

The free flow of capital in the post-1992 single European market will "open up fresh opportunities of laundering cash," or so one European Community official fears.

The banks' argument that innocent customers must be protected does not, of course, count for nothing.

But Georg Dieter Gotschlich, director of the Customs Cooperation Council, says simple economic motives are here being deliberately confused with fine ideals.

Inland revenue authorities can be denied access to bank paperwork that is made available to narcotics squad officials.

There need be no extra red tape inasmuch as international transfers of cash and capital already have to be registered with the German authorities for statistical purposes.

Yet this information may not be used by narcotics squad officials. Legal niceties aside, could narcotics squad officials glean useful information from computer tapes of banking transactions?

Herr Gotschlich says combating the narcotics trade grew more effective from the moment private enterprise began to cooperate with the authorities.

Take commercial airlines, whose security staff supply valuable information. It took relentless checks, especially in the United States, before they agreed to cooperate.

"That prompted them to show keener interest in cooperating with the authorities," Herr Gotschlich dryly says. "Much the same might happen with the banks."

Thomas Hanke

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 17 February 1989)

Continued from page 1

viet Union's willingness to give priority to demilitarisation in East-West relations.

Maybe military pacts will one day become superfluous. Conversely, disarmament may only be accomplished by an alliance whose members are reasonably agreed among themselves.

Bonn deserves understanding of its dilemma, but it must take care to ensure that the pact is not pulled away from beneath it before a European peace order has rendered it superfluous.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 February 1989)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Polls reveal deeply-rooted changes in the German's image of himself

A study by an American institute on the "quality of life" in 124 countries came up with some interesting results.

"Quality of life" was defined as an optimum combination of, inter alia, prosperity growth, life expectancy, protection of freedom and environmental conditions.

The researchers put the Federal Republic of Germany in second place behind Denmark; the USA was number 32.

The methods of comparison cannot be considered in great detail here, but it is true that there has never been such a rapid increase in prosperity in the this country as during the past 40 years.

An insurance expert once estimated that the total number of West Germans over 70 have accumulated financial assets worth DM130bn — not including land and real estate.

The country remains liberal: the main basic rights cannot even be annulled by an absolute majority in parliament.

The legal system is sound. The network of welfare benefits is tightly woven and, still, tearproof.

The country appears to be in pretty good shape. But the new poverty is spreading, the army of social security recipients is increasing, the dole queue is getting longer — in a situation with four million migrant workers.

A certain mood of discontentment also persists, which apparently feeds on a

Süddeutsche Zeitung

strange mistrust. For years now opinion pollsters have noticed that most people tend to view the future in a gloomy light.

This pessimism seems more widespread among younger people, whereas the older generations are more optimistic. In the past it was the other way round.

This is not so much a reflection of vicissitudes of public opinion, a regular phenomenon over the years, as of more deeply rooted changes in the self-image of the Germans.

There is a general weakening of relational stability and a growing disorientation. The hitherto undisputed bearers and agents of societal tradition have suffered as a result of this trend.

The Church has been forced to accept a dramatic decline in the number of regular Sunday churchgoers (between 20 and 25 per cent of Catholics still go to the Church regularly, but only between 5 and 6 per cent of Protestants).

Few churchgoers are aged between 15 and 30. Church leaders are concerned about how to pass on traditional beliefs.

Despite the numerous synods and conferences the helplessness remains. They realise that even the most firm believers have started to waver in the face of the erosion of the shared profession of faith.

The institutions of marriage and the family are also undergoing a critical process of fundamental change.

It is obvious that this leaves many children in a state of disorientation and lacking a sense of meaning in life. Teachers must also share the blame.

There are similar developments in other fields. Political parties, trade unions, the military and many sciences have lost a great deal of their former reputation.

This is not only the product of scandalous affairs, but to an even greater extent of the loss of competence, the condescending talk, the recruitment structures in the political sphere, where the "hard slog" inevitably leads to a lot of mediocrity, and, finally, to the problem of making oneself understood and ensuring credibility.

This explains the waning membership and the clearly declining willingness to become involved in political, trade union or military activities. The collapse of the traditional belief in progress is part of the picture.

Since the Berlin local elections at the latest a further, much more profound deficit has surfaced.

Now that the Greens have already been articulating their mistrust of the established political parties for ten years the Republicans have apparently gained the support of those who are unable to cope with the problem of the "lack of identity" of the Germans.

The price is now being paid for the fact that during the post-war decades German history was not appraised but suppressed.

In prayer wheel style there was regular talk of the need to restore the unity of the nation, for many years "within the frontiers of 1937."

The Federal Republic of Germany was still being referred to as a "provisional arrangement" at a time when anyone with eyes to see had realised that the division of Germany was a fact of life.

The historical questions relating to guilt and shame, to the causes and effects of the German catastrophes were dealt much too marginally during the public discussions of the last thirty years.

On the contrary, the often superficial references to the need to restore an "historical awareness" sometimes led to the opinion that the "spirit" and the deeds of the Nazis — after all, a mass movement which released incredible forces — were only an episode which could be ignored.

It has now become clear that such suppression had done more harm to German self-esteem than good in the form of inner liberation.

It is impossible to delve into the complex reasons for such fundamental changes within the framework of this brief appraisal.

Countless studies have taken a closer look at structural change in the family, at work, in the social environment, and, last but not least, at the repercussions of permanent time-consuming TV viewing and its adverse effects on imaginativeness.

The clearly defined points of orientation which once existed, which imposed contraints but which also gave people their bearings, are in a state of flux.

The greater freedom brought about by this development has been accompanied by greater uncertainty and isolation.

Sustantial social consensus has been lost in the wake of this rapid shift in values.

Eight years ago the Allensbach opinion research institute discovered that, in comparison with other countries in Western Europe and especially in comparison with the USA, the consensus between the generations (on moral, religious and political matters) is particularly weak in the Federal Republic of Germany.

On the other hand, the Germans are not a nation of cynics. There is a tremendous willingness to invest effort in social work and helping others.

The care shown for children and the socially underprivileged is probably greater than ever before. Many people are searching for a sense of meaning in life.

The lack of understanding and the inability to communicate between the generations seem to have been overcome.

The prerequisite for a new communication is the renunciation of suppression, of untrue talk, and of authoritarian behaviour.

Part of being credible is not to deceive others and to be willing to listen to arguments. Although the fringes may remain frayed this needn't upset the basis consensus.

Hans Heigert

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 11 February 1989)

Support for democracy 'is pragmatic, not idealistic'

Germans support democracy in their native country "pragmatically, but not idealistically."

During the almost 40 years since the Federal Republic of Germany was founded, the political values and institutions have increasingly assumed the features of the English and American democratic systems.

This includes a sense of tolerance, compromise, liberty and opposition. This up-to-date description of the national and political consciousness of the West Germans is outlined in a book written by the *Deutsche Frage* (German Question) research group in Mainz to mark the 40th anniversary of the Federal Republic.

The book, edited by the political scientist Professor Werner Weidenfeld, of Mainz, is entitled *Politische Kultur und deutsche Frage.*

It primarily deals with the identity and historical awareness of the Germans and the Europeans.

In the book, the Mainz research group concludes that the pride of West Germans in features of their political system such as the rights of individual liberty has increased since the 1950s.

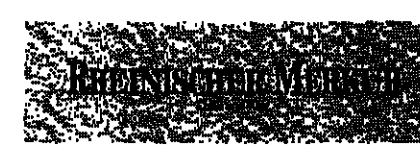
West Germans regard the sound economic, social and political system of the Federal Republic of Germany as factors of stability. The consciousness of the state is confronted by limits because of the division of Germany. It cannot relate to the idea of a nation as an all-embracing single unit.

dpa

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 23 January 1989)

■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Gatt: trenchant criticism and staunch support at Lausanne gathering



During the World Economic Forum, the annual meeting of international politicians and economic and monetary experts in the Swiss winter sports resort Davos, US economics expert Lester Thurow, professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), provoked delegates by saying: "Gatt is dead — let's drop the Uruguay round."

This opinion met with plenty of opposition.

The vice-president of the European Commission, Frans Andriessen, claimed that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) is more essential than ever before for the solution of international economic and trade problems.

In his opinion, all Gatt partners would suffer if the Uruguay round, the eighth round of Gatt negotiations on the liberalisation of world trade which began in September 1986 in Punta del Este, were to be discontinued.

European Community officials realise that the situation during and after the "interim balance" meeting of the representatives of Gatt member states at the beginning of December last year in Montreal has worsened.

Prospects for the future also look pretty gloomy.

The guests at the Davos forum agreed that the year 1989 — as Thurow predicted — would bring "incredibly serious trade conflicts."

Bonn Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle, however, warned against throwing in the towel and succumbing to a feeling of doom.

Kiechle's Austrian colleague, Josef Riegler, shared this view.

In Vienna and in the capitals of the other five Efta member states leading politicians and economists are convinced that the Uruguay round of negotiations and the Gatt system should not be buried.

In its conflicts with the other major world trading powers USA and Japan, the European Community and the whole of Western Europe face serious challenges.

Franz Andriessen emphasised in Davos that all three negotiating parties must realise that they bear a special responsibility for world trade, especially for cooperation with Third World countries, during the continuation of the Uruguay round.

Andriessen, who has been European Community commissioner for external trade relations and trade policy since the beginning of the year, is a politician whose experience may prove invaluable to the Europeans during negotiations in coming months.

The 59-year-old longest-serving commissioner — responsible during the previous four-year period for agricultural policy — has tenaciously pushed through major "Green Europe" reforms.

He is now expected to team up with the new Irish agriculture commissioner of the European Community, Ray MacSharry, to form a strong "Community tandem" able to stand its ground in the dispute with the new "US duo", Clayton Yeutter (Agriculture Secretary) and Carla Hills (trade negotiator).

The news that the new US president George Bush appointed Mr Yeutter as his agriculture secretary, a man known for his tough and uncompromising line, blew into Brussels like an ill wind.

Yeutter's stance during the dispute between the European Community and the USA over hormone-treated meat has been just as intransigent as during the "interim balance" conference on the Gatt Uruguay round in Montreal.

The eighth round of Gatt negotiations centres on worldwide agricultural problems.

Whereas substantial progress has been made in other important sectors with the help of individual arrangements, such as the services industry and the export of exotic produce, talks on improvements in the farming sector have made no headway.

This is unlikely to change as long as Americans stick to their maximum demands, say Frans Andriessen and Ignaz Kiechle.

Whereas the USA continues to insist that government farm subsidies should be removed by the year 2000, or at the latest within the next fifteen years, the Community calls for a pragmatic approach with short- and medium-term objectives.

In view of the completely different structure of farming in the European Community, says Brussels, the Community cannot drop its financial assistance for farmers.

A large share of the Community's farmers are family businesses, with smaller farmland units on average than in the USA or with much less productive livestock.

Brussels feels that it is in a good position thanks to its previous moves towards reforming the farming sector.

It has repeatedly pointed out that Washington's per capita subsidies for the just under three million US farmers are higher than payments to Community farmers.

Willy Croll, president of the German Raiffeisen Association (of agricultural credit cooperatives), commented as on the situation as follows:

"The US government has paid its farmers substantial subsidies for years on a scale equivalent to the gross national product of the American farming sector.

"We also know that the Japanese provide substantial subsidies for their farm sector and have no intention of reducing them.

"The American demand for a total reduction (of subsidies) is absolutely unrealistic."

Commissioner Andriessen, however, admits that the Community must show greater flexibility during Gatt consultations.

Following the setback in Montreal in the farm policy part of the Uruguay round high-ranking experts have been doing their utmost to find a way out of the deadlock.

The relevant Gatt bodies will continue their consultations on individual problems on 13 February in Geneva.

A new round of top-level, perhaps ministerial, level talks is scheduled for April.

No-one — at least officially — wants to talk about any "first-class funeral for Gatt."

It is during this difficult period of all periods that Gatt has received support from a completely unexpected source.

The Soviet Union has confirmed its serious interest in becoming a Gatt member. For the time being, however, this initiative has met with considerable misgivings.

Bonn Agriculture Minister Kiechle remarked that he would welcome the Soviet Union as a new Gatt member providing it fulfils the necessary requirements.

A "global perestroika" in Soviet economic policy, including the convertibility of the rouble — a move envisaged by the Soviet side — and numerous other measures, would be needed to enable Moscow's accession to Gatt.

It remains to be seen what takes longer — this move or the conclusion of the Uruguay round of negotiations.

Hans-Peter Ott

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 10 February 1989)

USA and Japan braced for Euro-challenge

In the early 1980s economists warned against Euro-pessimism and Eurosclerosis.

The eyes of the world turned to the Far East, to the young and dynamic economies of the Pacific Basin. A new Pacific era loomed on the horizon.

The Asian economies have retained their dynamic momentum, but since the mid-1980s the world has again turned its attention to Europe.

The ambitious goal of creating a single European market by the end of 1992 has triggered a new optimism, a veritable "Europhoria".

According to a recent opinion survey by the European Parliament over half European Community citizens would vote for a common government if given the chance.

The Japanese and the Americans are already bracing themselves for the new challenge.

Like the chief economist of the Bank of Boston they feel that they may miss one of the most significant developments in economic history if they fail to grasp the emerging opportunities.

The European Community's Eastern European neighbours also hope to benefit from this pooling of resources behind the crumbling walls of their ideology.

The previous success of the European initiative is proof of the power of visions, visions which are indispensable for the path to the future.

Europe '92 is primarily an economic vision, comparable with Ludwig Erhard's vision in 1948 of freeing the German economy from the chains of government regulations and entrusting its fate to market forces.

The European Commission's White Paper on the completion of the internal market states that Europe is at a crossroads:

"Either we move forward courageously and single-mindedly or we fall back into mediocrity."

The strength of the will to complete this market will show just how much political creative power Western Europe possesses.

The prospects for what the London weekly *The Economist* calls the big "adventure in deregulation" are more favourable than ever before.

The significance of the spirit of collectivism, which influenced economic policy thought and action for many years, has receded.

The welfare state has been forced to accept its financial limitations throughout the world.

In addition, there has been a desire for new economic stimuli since the long-lasting post-war boom came to an end during the 1970s.

Of course, the more conrete the negotiations and the clearer the balance of give and take, the greater the national opposition.

It is still not certain whether all the preconditions for the free movement of goods, services, labour and capital can be ensured during the remaining 46 months until the end of 1992.

Important questions have yet to be addressed.

The longer the discussion on details drags on, the less the appeal of the visionary.

As regards the shaping of politics in the European Community of the future there is still a struggle between those who trust in the creative power of institutions and those who would prefer to leave everything to market forces.

Centralism Brussels-style, as advocated primarily by the French president of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, faces the British brand of individualism formulated by Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

A book written by French author Alain Minc entitled "The *The Great Illusion* takes a critical look at Europe and comes to the conclusion:

"We expect a European miracle to save us from making the national efforts which are needed."

There are widespread fears that a centralist Europe could move the process of political decision-making even further away from the ordinary citizen.

However, these apparent contradictions are not insoluble, the obstacles are not insurmountable. A compulsory harmonisation in a bureaucratically standardised Europe is not the solution anyway. It only leads to more risks.

Although people today take part in what is happening in the world to a greater extent than ever before they also seek the security of the comprehensible as well as political and cultural individuality.

Over 100 years ago French politician and political writer Alexis de Tocqueville concluded in his analysis of the United States that federal sovereignty is only able to seize people's emotions in rare instances, but that the sovereignty of individual member states is rooted in heartfelt patriotic sentiment.

This also applies to a European Union and even more so to its economic "preliminary stage", the common internal market.

Europe '92, a configuration in which 16 different languages are spoken and in which a historically evolved cultural diversity exists, is only conceivable as a decentralised federalist community, which only speaks with one voice on major issues such as external trade policy.

Europe '92 should not turn into the "Fortress Europe", a development feared by many trading partners.

This would indeed be a betrayal of

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■ BUSINESS

Computer firm surrounded by reports of imminent layoffs and a takeover

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The executive board of Nixdorf Computer AG, Paderborn, has tried in recent months to "put the record straight" on unpleasant press reports about how many jobs are to be cut, a drop in profits last year and a possible take-over by the competition.

At the end of January executive board chairman Klaus Luft tried to win back confidence in a major advertising campign with a message presented at some length. The slogan said: "You can count on Nixdorf."

But Luft conceded there were difficulties — as he has done over the past year. He said that for cost reasons 1,600 jobs would have to go in 1989, and that profits were no longer satisfactory.

He declined to go into detail, keeping to the company's traditional reticence. Observers are looking forward to a press conference to take place shortly when probably the truth will be made known.

Nixdorf was one of the marvels of the West German economy. The firm developed at a breath-taking pace.

Heinz Nixdorf, a born inventor, founded the Laboratory for Impulse Technology in 1952 in a cellar using DM30,000 he had borrowed. By 1966 turnover was DM28m. Now it is more than DM5bn with a workforce of 30,000 worldwide.

The number of employed increased by 5,000 between 1987 and 1988 alone, but obviously Nixdorf had taken on too much.

Luft takes the line that after a decade of rapid growth the company must now consolidate. There is no more talk of the continuity of dividends — over the past few years a dividend of DM10 was paid per share.

In fact the company has had problems recently with factors over which it has no control. There has, for instance, been an enormous drop in prices in the industry, although imported memory chips became dearer.

In the first half of 1988, for example, the number of Nixdorf installations take up by medium-sized companies in the Federal Republic rose by 30 per cent but turnover only increased by 10 per cent.

And there are good reasons to believe that this turnover growth will not be maintained over the whole year.

The clients of computer manufacturers are becoming more and more self-assured. They want to be able to exchange data and programmes produced by various systems from various manufacturers.

In the past computer firms could tie customers down to their own systems. What was once a strength is now regarded as a disadvantage.

Nixdorf obtains a half of its turnover from computer programmes. To make programmes compatible, capable of being interchanged with various systems, they have had to be re-written in a standard language, "Unix." That costs a lot of money.

At the same time the pressure from the competition has got greater. Competitors are moving into the market of the small and medium-sized companies where Nixdorf has been highly successful for a long time, providing tailor-made solutions to customers' problems. Furthermore this market is not as inexhaustible as it was once supposed.

Critics maintain that Nixdorf protects its market share with prices which do not cover costs, for instance in business with digital extension exchanges, which is becoming more and more important — the company denies these reports.

The company has had internal problems as well. Compared with international practice, Nixdorf is a company which leads in investment for research and development. In 1987 DM450m (nine per cent of turnover) was allocated for R & D. This is proudly emphasised by management.

But in the supervisory board the question is asked which important product was fostered with this money. Traditionally Nixdorf has not engaged in development for its own computers. All innovations have been brought in from outside the company.

Then last year there was a bribery scandal. Many senior staff members were dismissed on the spot. The scandal did not so much harm the company's business as its image and public confidence in the company's internal controls.

The stock exchange reacted sharply to these unfavourable reports. The quoted price of preferential shares plummeted suddenly from their 1984 level of DM380. Ordinary shares, which were traded in the middle of 1987 for DM870, could only be sold at DM290 at the end of the year.

There are hardly any buyers at today's price of DM340. The slogan is sell. Market analysts are already predicting that there will be no operational profit for 1988.

An indication of this is the announcement of the sale of company real estate. It is being concluded that extraordinary profits of this sort would be essential to be able to pay the mimiumn dividend of DM4 on preferential shares.

If Nixdorf did not make this pay out and did not make it up next year (then at least DM8 per share) the preferential shares would suddently have voting rights.

Experts do not see much likelihood of an increase of the share price due to undenied rumours about the sale of the company (to Bosch, for example, or a bank). A company strength is that it has about DM3bn of its own capital (about 60 per cent of the balance sheet total), which is now paying off. Nixdorf can afford considerable indebtedness.



"You can count on Nixdorf" . . . chief executive Luft. (Photo: Nixdorf)

Seventy-five per cent of the basic capital is held by two non-profit foundations, as arranged by founder Heinz Nixdorf, who died in 1986, and 25 per cent by the Nixdorf family. According to company statements this ensures for the company long-term independence.

Speculations about a sale do not stop. Despite all denials if it is being contemplated to sell the company the deal should be concluded during this year. By the end of 1989 favourable tax regulations come to an end for gains made from the sale of company assets.

Willi Feldgen

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 11 February 1989)

Secrecy fuels speculation about Unilever cogitations

Anglo-Dutch foodstuffs multinational Unilever has been remarkably quiet for a long time, startling since the company has been the world's largest in the branch for years.

Unilever, with headquarters in London and Rotterdam, has held back from takeovers while all over the world there have been merger battles of undreamt-of proportions, which have put whole nations up in arms.

Nestlé has taken over the British confectionery company Rowntree in a deal running into billions; Philip Morris has merged with Kraft; but Unilever has only taken over a margerine firm in the United States employing 200.

But behind closed doors in executive suites at headquarters plans are being made and negotiations set in motion. The national branch offices of the company only find out the results of these cogitations when the die has been cast.

This kind of secretiveness has just added weight to the rumour that Hamburg-based Deutsche Unilever GmbH's parent company in London-Rotterdam plans to reduce again its activities in the Federal Republic, where 24,000 are employed.

Rumours were intensified when the executive board sold the administrative building in Hamburg's city centre to an investment company at the end of last year.

It did not help either when Floris A. Maljers, Unilever head, hurried to Frankfurt recently to assure journalists in very general terms that the Federal Republic was as always an important county for Unilever.

Since the beginning of the 1980s the German operation has suffered reverses and 10,000 jobs have been lost.

Turnover has been reduced from DM9.5bn in 1984 to DM7.2bn in 1987. At first glance the considerable withdrawal of capital involvement in the Federal Republic must be regarded as disinvestment in the German market.

The truth, however, is that Unilever has no intention of withdrawing from the Federal Republic.

The organisation has got rid of holdings and unprofitable production plant, such as the margarine factory in Berlin, but it has invested in new industrial sectors in the Federal Republic.

In 1987, for instance, Unilever extended its specialty chemicals division. American subsidiary National Starch & Chemical Corporation, mainly concerned with foodstuffs and food-processing markets, built a plant in Hamburg and Neustadt an der Weinstrasse.

Heinrich Hiltl, a member of the Deutsche Unilever works council, said that in his view Unilever headquarters were too secretive about deals.

He saw the single European market, planned for 1992 as the main point of these decisions made so unpleasantly fast for those concerned.

He said: "As a multinational organisation there has long been a single market for Unilever, which operates on the basis of five-year plans."

For this reason, he said, national branches had increasingly lost their authority. All important decisions were made at headquarters — a process which has become apparent in other *multinationals. They* are beginning to regard Europe as a standardised market.

According to Maljers Unilever, a producer of foodstuffs and detergents, operates on divisional lines. This means that the production of the various divisions of the national companies are controlled centrally.

But distribution and marketing will be decentralised in future, he said.

This is being done, he said, because tastes in the various European countries were so different it was impossible to serve them centrally.

Hiltl is worried about plans to tighten up Unilever's production structure — in future Unilever will have only to or three factories per product in Europe.

In such a strategy no national company, and certainly no individual works council, will know which factory could be the next to be affected.

The works council can do nothing through German law against concepts decided upon in Holland.

For this reason Hiltl has for some time called for a pan-European committee for all national works councils to be able to deal with information as quickly as possible.

Maljers has stated in writing that he could see no purpose in such a committee, and he expressed the view that pan-Europe the differences were too great and the solidarity too negligible.

Almost at the same time at the end of last year Maljers and his executive board decided to concentrate production of Lever detergent definitely at Mannheim. This means that 100 workers in Hamburg can either move to Mannheim or take early retirement.

Rudolf Paul

(Bremer Nachrichten, 13 February 1989)

■ HOUSING

Still not enough cheap enough, say critics

An electrician with a wife and three children ought to be able to pay between DM10 and DM15 a square metre to rent an apartment," says the manager of a housing agency.

Let us assume the apartment, for a family of five, has a surface area of 90 square metres, which at a rough guess would mean three bedrooms.

It would then cost between DM900 and DM1,500 a month, plus overheads such as a share of the water rate, ground rent, refuse disposal and so on.

Heating, electricity, gas, telephone are extra. "He must be prepared to pay a third of his take-home pay in rent," the agent says. "That's normal."

Normal or not, the agent would prefer not to be named. But he makes no bones about his personal views on the housing problem:

"A housing problem only exists in 'quake-stricken Armenia. In Germany it is merely a matter of brisk demand."

On this point he and Bonn Housing Minister Oscar Schneider, CSU, are agreed. Dr Schneider too constantly reassures all and sundry that there is no such thing as a housing problem in the Federal Republic.

Critics, in contrast, claim there is a shortage of inexpensive apartments for young people and low-income families.

The more inexpensive apartments are often to be found in small towns and remote areas a long way away from where people work or from industrial locations of any kind.

In Bamberg, Bavaria, a three-roomed apartment is on offer for DM390 a month. In Nienberge, near Münster, a modern three-roomed apartment is going for DM550.

(The term "three-roomed" does not include kitchen and bathroom, so it might arguably best be compared with a two-bedroomed apartment in English usage.)

Where the jobs are, however, many people have to pay through the nose for somewhere to live: two, three or four times as much as the rents just quoted.

This used to be the case only in Munich, but it is now true of more and more German cities.

"Three-roomed apartments are virtually no longer on offer for less than DM1,000 a month," says Eckhard Heinrich of a Frankfurt tenants' advice bureau. "Would-be tenants are pricing each other out of the market." Estate agents have already taken the hint. Six out of seven in Berlin said they no longer handled rented apartments, only apartments and houses for freehold or leasehold sale.

It is hardly surprising that more and more landlords are keen to make established tenants pay more.

A Frankfurt tenants' ginger group cites instances. The apartment of a couple aged 76 and 79 was to be modernised — and the rent increased. The old couple refused.

So the landlord simply had their chimneys demolished, leaving them without heating. Another tenant came home to find the rear wall of his toilet demolished.

A Munich tenants' ginger group is equally dismissive of Dr Schneider's opinion that no housing problem exists.

"Why, that's simply ridiculous!" a spokesman says. In Munich so many people are so desperately seeking somewhere to live that landlords are sorely tempted to charge the earth.

In Munich the average rent for an 80-square-metre apartment, without a balcony or any other special features or desirable location, is now DM1,400. Two thirds of a wage packet or salary often go toward the rent in Munich; half is the rule.

Only two days beforehand, the spokesman said, there had been a case of a man paying DM340 a month for a single 10-square-metre room, with the use of neither a kitchen nor a shower.

There was only one shower in the entire building, and it was usually out of order. The landlord certainly didn't service it, and it was shared by 45 tenants!

What is more, 35,000 Munich people are on the waiting list for low-cost homes. Last year the municipal housing department was able to house 5,500 families.

In north Germany the situation is less desperate. Yet Georg Wittwer, Housing Senator in Berlin, is in no doubt what he would like from Dr Schneider: "One, two and three: more cash for apartments!"

In Hanover the head of the municipal housing department, Oswald Renno, says there may not be a housing problem there, but there is a shortage. Cheap apartments are no longer on offer. Looking for somewhere can take months.

"The local paper with the small ads is on sale from about 10 p.m.," says Stefanie, a student. "But nearby telephone booths are busy, leaving people like me, without a telephone of their own, out in the cold."

Besides, more and more landlords and tenants are cashing in on the shortage. "Furnishings for sale to the highest bidder" is a phrase regularly encountered in the small ads, and there is usually a mad rush at the visiting times specified.

Annette Ramelsberger

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 February 1989)

An attempt to polish up the image of high rise

We must give serious consideration to demolishing high-rise housing," Bonn Housing Minister Oscar Schneider said last February in an interview with *Die Welt*.

Housing Ministry officials now seem to be thinking more in terms of giving high-rise suburban housing a fresh lease of life by means of "improvements" and "refurbishment."

The controversial Märkisches Viertel housing estate in Berlin is a pilot project. A number of cosmetic changes are said to have worked wonders.

New plate-glass entrances to tenement blocks, with porches, rubber trees, fresh lighting and mirrors in the elevators and corridors do more than make the ground floor more attractive.

They are claimed to have an educational effect. Vandalism is said to have declined perceptibly.

So Ministry officials now feel high-rise suburban housing estates might be made to appear more attractive — and not just doomed to urban decay and eventual demolition.

"They are fine, modern housing," says the Ministry's Hans Pflaumer. He even has a good word for high-rise housing as such.

By concentrating housing and building upward, as opposed to, say, ribbon development, planners have saved many acres of land that might otherwise have been residentially developed.

Herr Pflaumer has just briefed the German Architects' Association in Bonn on the findings of a white paper on high-rise housing commissioned by the Bundestag from the Housing Ministry.

The reason for the poor image of high-rise suburban housing estates is, he feels, a wide range of misinterpretations.

Many people say these estates are inhuman and unbearable, yet the facts belie such claims. The average tenant spends 11.6 years in a Märkisches Viertel apartment, which isn't at all bad.

Claims of high housing density in estates of this kind are also usually inaccurate, he says. Most include so much open land that further development would be possible.

As for allegedly high crime rates, they have more to do with the categories of tenants housed than with the character of high-rise housing itself.

Municipal housing departments tend to house "problem families" in estates of this kind, he says.

Journalists who toured high-rise estates in Cologne, Hanover and Berlin said planners were indeed told by indignant residents to rehouse "problem families" in poor-houses.

Ministry officials told the Architects' Association they favoured "improvements" to the roughly 300 high-rise housing estates in the Federal Republic, which between them house roughly two million people.

As the Ministry's Hartmut Meuter, a sociologist, puts it, these estates have literally "marked time" in town planning terms.

Hamburg architect Olaf Gibbins listed examples of possible improvements.

They ranged from "designer" door bells and nameplates to plate-glass arcades and from penthouse apartments on flat roofs to greenery on concrete frontage.

More trees could be planted, he said, and regulation lawns be replaced by gardens to be kept in trim by the tenants.

The Federal government has invested DM47m in schemes of this kind, but housing associations are less enthusiastic than Ministry officials had hoped.

Could it be that Dr Schneider was nearer the truth when he said, a year ago, that demolition was the best solution?

"There are high-rise housing estates," he said, "that can't be properly maintained because rental income isn't enough to keep the interiors in reasonable condition, let alone the exteriors."

Dankwart Guratzsch

(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 February 1989)

Continued from page 6

the principles of free trade and of our commitments to the world.

In 1961 Ludwig Erhard wrote:

"In view of the international political situation the moral justification for the EEC is primarily rooted in the willingness and receptiveness to seek conciliation with the rest of the free world in the socio-economic field."

Europe '92 could become a societal model, positioned somewhere between American individualism and the Japanese system of consensus.

Jürgen Jeske

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 February 1989)

■ COMPUTERS

Mastering Chinese in three none-too-easy lessons



Computer expert Peter Cassiers says he was amazed when his computer was able to distinguish between an "l" and a "1" (a lower-case l and the numeral 1).

"Can you?" he asks, promptly answering: "Only in context."

His fellow-research scientists at the department of metrology and automatic control technology at the Technical University in Berlin nod in agreement.

That isn't the only party trick their computer can perform. It is the only one in Europe that can read Chinese characters — 3,755 of them.

Since 1986 he and his colleagues, computer specialists and Sinologists, have set themselves an ambitious target: to "teach" their computer to read Chinese characters semi-automatically.

It does so by means of an electronic scanner. Similar devices exist in Japan. Research projects are under way at Chinese universities. But the Berlin computer is the most accurate yet developed.

"In Taiwan and China," says Sinologist Richard Suchenwirth, "over 500 processes have been devised in the past 10 years by which to computerise Chinese characters."

Keeping them into a computer is only part of the problem; reading them — and understanding the combination of pictograms and syllabic characters — is much more problematic.

Depending on the dictionary used, Chinese script consists of a nucleus of between 40,000 and 60,000 characters.

It is no small consolation, as Suchenwirth puts it, that the 3,755 characters the Berlin computer has been taught to read make up roughly 98 per cent of the characters actually used.

Each character incorporates a graphic factor derived, over the millennia, from pictorial representation.

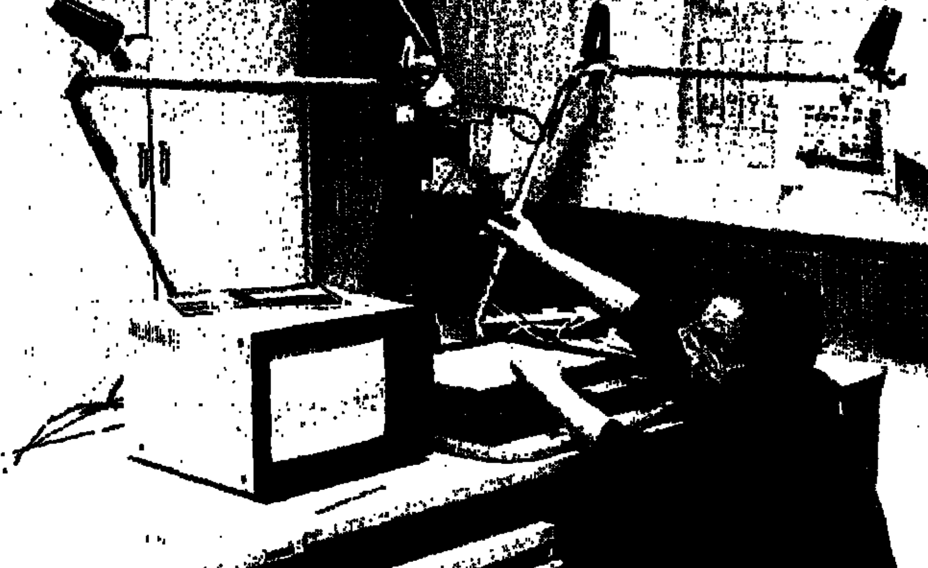
All characters that have anything to do with medicine, for instance, are topped with a stylised bunch of medicinal herbs.

"But we had to teach the computer an entirely different reading method," Suchenwirth says. Each printed character is first read in four directions and classified by the quantity and frequency of black, or printer's ink, encountered.

Once the computer has registered these data the character as scanned on paper by what amounts to a video camera can then be reproduced on the monitor screen.

"Our original objective," says project director Irmfried Hartmann, "was to achieve 95-per-cent reading accuracy. We have now reached 98 per cent."

To reach this degree of accuracy the scanner and the computer to which it is attached had to memorise Chinese characters — just like students do.



Scanner, scanner on the screen, tell me (in Chinese) what I've seen. (Photo: dpa)

When the project began, the Berlin research scientists keyed about 6,000 Chinese characters into the computer, which is one day intended to make life easier for librarians.

Programmes that combine text input and scanner systems, i.e. both reading and writing, might sell like hot cakes in the Far East. But the Berlin project is nowhere near that stage yet.

"We still need an entire day to read a single page of a Chinese magazine," Hartmann says. By the year after next, when the DM120,000 project is scheduled for completion, the printer should be able to print out a page a minute.

But the scanner still has much to learn before this speed can be achieved.

The project was presented in Moscow last October after a procedure had been devised, at the double, by which the computer can read the Roman and the Cyrillic alphabets.

They are shortly to be joined by Japanese characters. The Berlin project staff feel Korean characters are feasible too.

"But it will be a long time before computers can accurately translate Chinese," Suchenwirth says. He should know.

Each Chinese character can have as many as several dozen meanings. The computer has yet to be taught to memorise more than three.

Jürgen Kremb/dpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 February 1989)

University bytes Japanese chip

Bonn is the first European university to be equipped with Japanese text computers, three of them, complete with software.

Professor Josef Kreiner, head of Japanese studies, says the Japanese computers can handle approximately 11,000 Sino-Japanese characters, as against the 26 or so used in European alphabets.

Only about 2,000 of these characters are regularly used in everyday life, but Japanese is written in three scripts, comprising several thousand pictograms and two syllabic alphabets of over 100 symbols.

The user can enter into the computer up to 7,000 characters used in special contexts.

Bonn's Japanese text computers are to be used for both teaching and research. The roughly 12,000 Japanese works of art in German museums can now, for instance, be catalogued and their data relayed to any other computer for further use.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 24 January 1989)

Larry is here — possibly with a virus

Several hundred thousand Germans are sure to be on first-name terms with Larry, a computer game character from the United States.

Entered into company computers via thousands of floppy disks, Larry makes a beeline across the monitor screen in his quest for Miss Right.

He is extremely popular with a growing number of people who work at computer keyboards and monitor screens all over Germany — and less so with employers.

Staff flash Larry onto their screens for a quick game whenever they have a spare moment (at the company's expense), and not just during their lunch break or after hours.

Few firms are prepared to admit that Larry is such a frequent denizen of their VDUs that he might well be on their payroll. He certainly costs time and money.

A head of department at one large Hamburg firm in charge of the company's personal computers gingerly admitted to having heard of the game.

Members of the Chaos Computer Club, a Hamburg-based club notorious for the feats of its computer hackers, say everyone knows Larry.

The game's programme is to be found on floppy disks in countless handbags and briefcases. It is slipped into the company's computer as soon as no-one is looking, as it were.

Larry can be brought closer to Miss Right on the computer screen if you know the right code words, but as in all games, there are countless pitfalls en route.

Players are awarded points for heading him in the right direction. Failure to do so disqualifies them; they are out of the game.

A mere computer game may be no more than a time-wasting nuisance. But many companies are worried that pirated copies of the game may be infected by a computer virus.

So many pirated copies are in circulation that some may indeed need to be debugged. Any virus they bring with them might, if the worst comes to the worst, break down the entire system.

Computer freaks readily admit that this could happen. No-one can say how faulty a pirated copy of a computer game may be.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 12 February 1989)

■ THE ARTS

A thinking man's show springs up down at the old Tigerpalast



Johannes 'Johnny' Klinke stands by the box office of his Frankfurt music hall. He is dressed in a dinner jacket, greets all his guests and shows them to the sumptuous seats in the dance hall, where the show is just about to begin.

Klinke, 38, once a leading light in the student movement of 1968, said that his present job was host. His father was a Berlin pastor.

He is the originator and director of the Tigerpalast, "the only intelligent, midnight music hall in Germany," as he put it.

The music hall opened its doors for the first time in October last year and puts on mainly music hall artists in the classical vein.

For instance escape artist Hans Morcti emerged unscathed from a box pierced by 18 sabre holes on the stage.

Ernest Montego juggles with burning torches. Between the performances there is music: Anne Bärenz, for instance, on keyboard instruments and Frank Wolff cello, whose repertoire extends from pop ballads by Guesch Patti to compositions by John Cage.

There is a compère who links up the acts and occasionally amuses the audience with a little cabaret-style patter. Matthias Beltz, the other director of Tigerpalast, did this recently.

After the performances the chairs are taken away from the floor in front or the stage to provide room for dancing. Then the house band lets rip.

Anyone who does not feel like doing the tango or the jive (or people who don't know how to dance these dances) can go via a stairway to the white-painted vaulted-cellar and eat at sophisticated prices — if the guest is still hungry after a "Varieté Dish" including shrimps, ham and vol-au-vent. Guests are served at small round tables by waiters wearing waistcoats decorated with imitation tiger fur. The visitor is also confronted with show-business history in the restaurant. Original posters from the 1920s recall famous artists and dance halls of the entertainment world, flourishing up to the end of the 1950s, such as Hamburg's Hansa-Theater, a world of entertainment now swallowed up by television. Klinke admitted: "We want to recall all that but not ape it." That would obviously not be a good thing. In the famous music halls of the past, such as the Wintergarten in Berlin, destroyed in a 1943 bombing raid, as many as 3,500 could be entertained.



On balance, it's an act . . Francis Brunn earning a living at the *Tigerpalast*. (Photo: Tigerpalast)

Putting it mildly the Tigerpalast with seating for 180, is very modest beside that.

There is an unobtrusive, intimate atmosphere in the dance hall, since the guests are haunched up close to one another and no-one is more than 15 metres away from the stage.

The word "Palast" in the name of the place can only be understood in an ironic sense. The question remains, however, what the noun "Tiger" implies.

Klinke explained: "In China the tiger is a symbol of energy and courage. This is also an 'Energiepalast'."

The impresario himself needs plenty of energy to keep the project going. Klinke roamed the whole of Europe's music halls for five years. He fought for his idea and eventually he was offered support.

The CDU city council of Frankfurt contributed almost DM2 million for the renovation of the washed-out building. Until 1988 the Salvation Army had conducted its services there for 60 years.

The state of Hesse offered a loan at favourable interest rates and a French brewery offered an additional credit.

Despite all this "Tigerpalast GmbH" had to find about one million deutschemarks for the conversion, which cost in all DM4 million, before Tigerpalast could be opened, to the unanimous applause of politicians and well-wishers.

The opening was attended by prominent Frankfurt politicians, including four senior civic officials, and the SPD candidate for the mayoralty, Volker Hauff. This was the first step in the "city's great enterprise."

Klinke has been successful in bringing the true music hall atmosphere to Frankfurt.

He said: "Here there are just discos and sex, on the one hand, and on the other culture with a capital C such as the opera. Anyone who does not go to these looks elsewhere. I believe people are looking for something else." He also is a great believer in the future of the music hall. He said: "Five years ago opening a music hall seemed to be an impossible idea." Klinke is now optimistic. "In five years' time there will be dance halls and music halls again in the large cities."

Matthias Schatz

(Die Welt, Bonn, 9 February 1989)



Thomas Killinger's musical Quasimodo. (Photo: Peter Peitsch)

The Little Shop of Horrors and a whole lot more as well

Musicals are in, be it the old warhorse, *West Side Story*, or the humorous subway melodrama *Linie 1*, put on by Berlin's Grips Theater, which has guaranteed a full house for performance after performance at Hanover's Ballhof.

Or the rock ballet *Love or War* at Hanover's Opera House, music provided by the Hanover band "Fun Key B."

In this season alone Helmut Zocher is bringing six musicals to Hanover's Theater am Aegi handled by his concert tour agency.

Last summer Klaus Ritgen brought to Hanover for 14 days Andrew Lloyd Webber's *Evita*. Since then the young and not-so-young have turned up in crowds for musicals.

They clap their hands to the rhythms, bob up and down in time and hum the hits and catchy tunes long after the curtain has dropped.

Evita was recently again put on in the Theater am Aegi by an ensemble from Budapest.

Speaking about the continuous interest in musicals Zocher said: "I want to appeal to young audiences with musicals. You cannot go on producing *My Fair Lady* or *Jesus Christ Superstar*."

For this reason he has put on a couple of lively productions in this season. *The Little Shop of Horrors*, performed by the Musical Company from New York last November, was given favourable reviews by the critics.

The *Rocky Horror Show* was a production of the cult film bringing the lively transvestite character "Frank'n-furter" live on stage. Both productions were well received by young audiences.

Zocher recalled that some members of the audience turned up wearing wild clothes, the girls showing stocking suspenders. The Horror Band will make further appearances towards the end of February.

A new production, premièred in Böblingen last November, is also earmarked for Hanover. It is not an American export but a German attempt to conquer the musicals market.

Maria Caleita and Mariolla Momm have written the script, They manage Munich's Schauspielbühne and have turned Victor Hugo's *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* into a musical.

The Munich-based, private Tourneetheater, has produced the show for a million deutschemarks. It has been on tour since the end of last year.

There are 30 young actors and actresses in the show. Thomas Killinger, who plays the Hunchback, has also appeared as Tony in *West Side Story*, when the Hanover Staatstheater put on this musical.

This new German musical is set in Paris, 1480. Gypsy-girl Esmaralda is accused of murder. Only the beggars and the hunchbacked bell-ringer remain faithful to the innocent girl.

Maria Caleita said: "Everyone knows the story of *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. Victor Hugo's social involvement in this work appeals to us, his denunciation of hatred of foreigners, his partisanship on behalf of the crippled Quasimodo."



Charles Kalmann, Siegfried Türpe and Oliver Hahn have written the music, Maria Caleita said: "The music sounds more like *My Fair Lady* than *Cats*. The bell-tower of Note Dame will soar up seven metres on stage. Zocher was asked if he would not like to bring to Hanover a musical such as *Cats* or a roller-skating spectacular such as *Starlight Express*?

He said that he suspected that there was not an audience for productions of this kind in Hanover. He said that it remained to be seen how German audiences in the provinces reacted to "Quasimodo."

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 January 1989)

■ THE ARTS

Meeting place for the avant-garde: kaleidoscope in a state of flux

DAAD is a self-governing organisation of German universities and art, music and theological colleges set up to support the exchange of scientists and students with other countries. It was originally established in 1931 as a replacement for another agency which had been in operation since 1924. After the war, in 1950, it was re-established in its present form. Since 1964, DAAD has every year organised an Artists Programme in Berlin. Lore Ditzen reports for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Lectures, meeting people, films, musical evenings, an exhibition, a thick catalogue of text and pictures — international culture.

No, this is not this time just another Berlin festival but, speaking down-to-earth, a summing-up.

The individual events have handy but irritating names: the series of films and public readings in which authors from various countries illustrate their experiences of the world is called "Transes:" in the musical "Inventions" one gets to know "the mythos of the violin through new sounds, instrument mutations and multi-media performance."

Other events are named "Interkulturelle Kontaktprodukte" and the art exhibition is entitled "Balkon mit Fächer" instead of the originally announced "Ein Traum mit Sahne" (A dream with cream.)

Both titles are borrowed from the works of the Belgian artist Marcel Brodhaers. He, like all the other participants in this artistic kaleidoscope, were guests at the Berlin Artists Programme of the German Academic Exchange Service — the German initials are DAAD.

Everything is in a state of flux, everything is new, everything is open, everything is possible: for the past 25 years this Programme has been a part of Berlin's cultural life. Artists from all over Europe have turned up for it, but increasingly artists from all over the world.

The event was devised by Shepard Stone, a tireless promoter and initiator of the arts in Berlin, disregarding frontiers, (from the Free University to the Aspen Institute). He was formerly a director of the Ford Foundation.

Thanks to this institution 700 guests have been able to live and work in Berlin as "Artists in Residence" for a few months, firstly supported by the Ford Foundation and then as scholarschipholders of the DAAD.

Many of them have important positions in the arts of our time. Ingeborg Bachmann, W. H. Auden, Witold Gombrowicz, Zbigniew Herbert, Lars Gustafsson were brought to Berlin in the first years, a time when roaming about the world was not so common and certainly not to Berlin.

These were writers with a critical outlook on contemporary life and the poetic language of a sensitive and easily disturbed experience of the world.

The naughty boys of the Vienna Group came with Artmann, Achleitner and Rühm, unique theatre groups such as Tabori and film-makers such as Tarkowski. Outlawed Greeks from the "Colonels' Regime" came, Italians who were not yet being commercially exploited, the pace-makers of avantgarde music, protagonists of the American art scene, the jokers of the inter-media "Fluxus" movement and, in the 1980s, leading representatives of Latin American literature.

Everyone who represented the forceful streams in contemporary life was included in the guest list, thanks to members of the selection committee who had a keen nose for what was going on.

Many have left traces of their visit in the city, not just the transitory, performances and exhibitions, but in works which have resulted from their experience of Berlin, or artworks which have been acquired by the Berlinische Galerie for its collection, or in works that can be displayed in the open in the city.

Translators, and publishers, have been found for books written by guests to the Programme. The series of the Literary Colloquium are available to them, films and compositions have been created and produced.

A DAAD gallery shows works from studios and is a meeting place for readings and for a "translators' workshop."West Berlin's international contacts have become a lot easier than they were in the early years of the Artists Programme, when the writer Gombrowicz, for example, was sorry there was not a literary café, and the first director of the Programme, Peter Nestler, held open house at his apartment for the guests, who at that time complained about loneliness and the difficulties of making themselves understood.

A report on the stimuli, ideas, productions as well as the fun and deep significance which was imparted to the city through this constant enrichment, has been produced by Stefanie Endlich and Rainer Höynck for DAAD.

With photographs, drawings, text, letters and reviews, the two authors have successfully high-lighted the course of this Berlin event in the work they have produced for the DAAD.

With the wealth of art available today it has been forgotten how much excitement was generated to us in the early days of the Programme — including friendships and personal relationships, particularly with those among the artists who remained in Berlin after the termination of their scholarships.

The 25th anniversary programme showed a few trends. For the fine arts the present Berlin director of the DAAD Artists Programme, Joachim Sartorius, commissioned an exhibition from Rudi Fuchs from Holland, who was responsible for the last *documenta* exhibition in Kassel.

Fuchs decided to present the works of 50 of the 250 visual artists who have participated in the Programme; the concept is quite arbitrary.

The exhibition has been mounted in the Akademie der Künste and is not devoted to works that have been produced in the months the artists have been in Berlin, but concentrates on what the artists themselves regard as their best work.

Works with the colours not yet properly dry hang next to paintings which are authentic evidence of the artist's stay in Berlin.

The multi-dimensional, painted objects *Plurimi* by the Venetian Emilio Vedova are examples of the latter. They recall the period 25 years ago, when Vedova, then a grand master of an abstract neo-expressionism, now a grandfather, stormed into the former studio of sculptor Arno Breker.

The exhibition does not make good the promise of these objects as documentation of Berlin as a city of the arts. It remains "democratic," as Fuchs put it, distant and independent, and an example of what a real artistic exhibition can teach us: anything goes between expressionistic tendencies, conceptual art, minimal art, photo realism and performance.



Sushaku Arakawa exhibit at DAAD arts show in Berlin. (Photo: Catalogue)

It would be pointless to name names here; too many would be omitted (apart from international, renowned artists unknown artists have also appeared at the DAAD Programme).

The quality of the various artists can be accepted or denied, depending on the disposition of the observer.

The whole is exactly a "Balkon mit Fächer." Berlin as a lookout post into the art world, a cross-section, certainly not an average.

The versatile and nutritious DAAD Programme is just one of the many images in this kaleidescope.

The DAAD exhibition will be put on at the Dumont-Kunsthalle in Cologne from May to July and then in the autumn displayed at the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague.

Lore Ditzen

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 January 1989)

Classical moderns in a show and a class, of their own

Berlin's Nationalgalerie is putting on a representative exhibition drawn from the two famous art collections created by Peggy and Solomon R. Guggenheim, which were combined into a single collection in 1970.

The exhibition, with fewer pictures, has already been shown in Prague. After the Berlin exhibition the exhibits will return to the Guggenheim museums in New York and Venice.

The name Guggenheim is closely linked to the development of modern painting, classical European moderns and later American post-war art.

The Guggenheim family became one of the wealthiest in America, the family fortune based on copper mines. Solomon was a devoted art collector who, partly under the influence of the German painter Hilla von Rebay, collected modern paintings, then fairly unknown, from 1927 onwards.

His niece Peggy was not only a collector but also a patron of artists in Paris, She was a friend of Marcel Duchamp and Pablo Picasso. For a time she was married to Max Ernst.

The exhibition in the Nationalgalerie offers a view of the work of the art of the classical moderns. There is no other word for it but to describe the exhibition as unique.

Matisse's 1916 'Laurette' at the Guggenheim exhibition. (Photo: dpa)

It is made up of 60 masterpieces, not only pictures of the most renowned artists of our century, but also their main works. There are works by Picasso, Braque, Léger, Modigliani, Chagall, Klee, Kandinsky, Miró, Dubuffet and de Chirico.

These works are in themselves a review of the history of modern art.

The exhibits were selected for the Berlin exhibition by Thomas Messer, former director of the Guggenheim Museum in New York, in collaboration with Berlin colleagues.

It can only be fully understood when one bears in mind the comment Messer made. He said that he did not intend "to make a point with the exhibition."

What is shown has for a long time been canonised.

The exhibition includes no sculptures or pictures from the 19th century. As it is limited to only 60 paintings visitors can concentrate beneficially on every individual work.

A broad view must not degenerate into a great exhibition, as this one shows.

Nevertheless to give a broad view with relatively few exhibits, and to do so brilliantly, as does this exhibition of the Guggenheim pictures, one must be able to fall back on a collection which probably only a few museums in the world could keep up with.

Claudius Crönert

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 15 February 1989)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Efforts to halt transport of toxic waste to Third World countries

Mostafa Kamal Tolba, an internationally renowned biologist, served President Sadat of Egypt for years as a political adviser. He has also been his country's Education Minister, cultural attaché and president of the Academy of Sciences.

Now aged 66, he has been director of the United Nations Environment Programme since 1976. He is a man with a powerful personal aura, an engaging sense of dignity and an extremely even temper.

Yet on the third day of the UN talks on toxic waste shipments even he lost his temper. "Just what do you want?" he asked representatives of the industrialised world. "Do you want to ship even more toxic waste overseas?

"What on earth do you have in mind for the Third World? I thought we were here to impose restrictions at long last on an increasingly dangerous threat."

Embarrassed silence descended on the conference chamber.

Until this outbreak of bad temper on the UNEP director's part the representatives of the industrialised world had merely played for time.

It was the fourth time delegates from 50 countries had met in Luxembourg to draft regulations for the export of toxic waste mainly from the industrialised countries to the Third World.

Their conference brief was to contain what Greenpeace has called the "dirtiest

DIE ZEIT

business in the world." But the Western states merely played for time, and although this approach is not, as UNEP's Jan Huismans put it, "altogether sensitive, politically speaking," it is at least comprehensible.

Greenpeace published to coincide with the Luxembourg conference a dossier on the waste trade which made the point that the industrialised countries shipped over three million tonnes of waste to the less developed world between 1986 and 1988.

At present roughly 150 firms are engaged in the trade of shipping toxic waste to the Third World.

To take a few examples, Transtech NV of Belgium and the Zürich-based Agriswiss Panama Corp. are said by Greenpeace to be keen to set up gigantic waste tips in Somalia.

Arnold Andreas Künzler, a Basle mercenary-turned-arms dealer, plans to build three gigantic toxic waste plants in Angola to incinerate roughly five million tonnes of industrial waste in four years.

A cargo of 324 drums of pesticide residue, contaminated detergents and other chemical waste from Italy is still stockpiled on the Turkish Black Sea coast, having been washed ashore there last summer.

American flue ash illegally shipped to Haiti by the freighter *Khian Sea* is similarly still awaiting collection as promised.

After an Odyssey lasting nearly three years the ship's captain said he had been able to dump part of his cargo "somewhere between the Suez Canal and Singapore," and not at sea but "on land."

The unanimous and vociferous indignation about toxic waste exports that was expressed last year is evidently here today, gone tomorrow as soon as specific measures to call a halt to the trade are envisaged.

The International Confederation of Chemical Industry Associations (Cefic), for instance, has played down the trade as a "legitimate business activity."

Many garbage trucks, when suitably fitted out, are said to be no more dangerous than other merchandise shipments. Besides, the country of destination does not need to let the shipment in.

Last November the industrialised countries rejected a bid by Nigeria to ban the trade as part of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt).

The European Community, the United States and Sweden felt it was a "tricky business" that was not a matter of trade ties. A political solution under the UN aegis was what was needed.

The toxic waste producers, first and foremost the United States, the "leader of the free world," as the Sudanese delegate resignedly noted, seemed to be mainly interested at the conference in nosing out loopholes.

Washington, he said, insisted on "maximum practicability" and stymied all arrangements that in its eyes amounted to mere "bureaucratic trade barriers."

Mostafa Tolba's outburst of anger, for instance, occurred in connection with the argument that compulsory registration of all export arrangements would merely mean "thousands and thousands of registration forms."

Yet why should it when these hazardous shipments are to be reduced to a minimum?

Mr Tolba intervened a second time to sound the warning note that the industrialised countries were keen to see bilateral agreements permitted alongside international conventions.

Did that mean they planned to sidestep the provisions again? "I thought we were here to draw up a generally valid convention," he said.

After hours of debate the compromise agreed was that waste transactions between two member-countries were only permitted when they were "not irreconcilable with the provisions of the convention."

But the Americans refused to accept this arrangement.

Greenpeace's Ernst Klatte indignantly commented: "They have shut the front door only to open the back door again at the same time."

It was fairly clear that territorial demarcations and detailed liability provisions could not be negotiated in this context; they are equally controversial issues in other international contexts.

Yet agreement was not even reached in Luxembourg on a definition of the "illicit toxic waste trade."

It might, at first glance, seem fairly easy to define, but countries that illegally store toxic waste in other countries would then be obliged to take it back at their own expense.

It will cost the Italian government over \$14m to ship 167 drums of highly toxic waste back from Lebanon and Nigeria, to stockpile it and to decontaminate the freighter *Karin B.*

Environment Minister Ruffolo plans to charge the companies who were responsible for the waste in the first place, and so far 37 of them have been identified by painstaking inquiries.

Two more shiploads of toxic waste are still on their way back from Nigeria.

There has been no discussion at all so far on the crucial issue of the powers to be exercised by the secretariat Nigeria has suggested might be set up to monitor the trade as a "dump watch."

Will it have sufficient funds and manpower? How detailed must the information be that waste exporters must submit? Who is to have access to this information?

Will it, as Turkey has suggested, publish details of the toxic waste trade to bring international pressure to bear on industry and governments?

Will it at the same time be a centre providing Third World countries with access to new waste elimination techniques?

The industrialised countries are likelier to agree to the setting-up of a mere alibi body.

Even so, the 50 delegates reached agreement on a limited ban. Toxic waste may be shipped neither to countries that are not parties to the convention nor to countries that have imposed an import ban.

They so far total 39 African, Pacific, Latin American, Caribbean and South-East Asian countries.

Environmental protection organisations called for a blanket export ban. It would bring pressure to bear on industry to develop new manufacturing techniques that did not result in toxic waste as a by-product.

Yet even Mostafa Tolba was against this idea. Toxic waste was produced in growing quantities in poor countries with no disposal facilities of their own. They had no choice but to export it, he said.

Tanzania, for instance, has a stockpile of about 200 tonnes of wrongly-stored pesticides that can no longer be used. On its own Tanzania has no means of disposing of this toxic waste.

Greenpeace was instrumental in persuading the UNEP convention to extend the list of substances defined as toxic waste to include sewage sludge, filter dust and domestic garbage.

Greenpeace has evidently graduated from spectacular publicity stunts to astute diplomatic activity. Its observers shrewdly placed important proposals in Luxembourg, advising the delegations of developing countries.

So Mostafa Tolba remains "hopeful and determined," despite all the playing for time, to present Environment Ministers of signatory states with a finished convention draft when they reconvene in Basle on 20 March.

No extra working session is to be held in the meantime. Some delegates were critical about being so pressed for time, but the Swiss government had already sent out invitations to attend this conference.

The Basle Convention on stemming the tide of toxic waste shipments is evidently intended to help refurbish the image of a city where chemical waste was pumped into the Rhine several years ago, killing fish for hundreds of miles downstream.

Christiane Grefe

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 February 1989)

■ BEHAVIOUR

Loving, honouring and obeying, sometimes: survey looks at role of modern wife

The husband, wrote Christian Wolff in 1736, is to be loved, honoured and obeyed — subject to the proviso that he must consult his wife on matters she understands better.



He saw the woman's role in wedlock as being one in which she at least had a say. Enlightenment philosophers such as Rousseau, Kant and Fichte held a slightly different view.

They looked on woman as the "second sex" — trained to do as she was told, to give birth to as many children as possible and to submit to the dictates of her husband's conscience.

Men and women were thus seen as being different — and mutually exclusive — in character, and this view was upheld by political interests for two centuries.

It led to a discrepancy in relations between the sexes that continues to this day to affect marriage and the family.

The number of divorces and separations increases yearly, while fewer and fewer couples marry. Relationship conflicts increasingly require therapeutic treatment. The family has emerged as "a suitable case for treatment."

Woman's role being much more closely linked to the family, psychologist Eva Dane subtitles her PhD thesis' "an empirical survey of family backgrounds and personality development of wives married in partnership, wives who have been deserted and wives who themselves have 'quit' wedlock."

She works on the hypothesis that women from families cast in the traditional mould have a less marked sense of their own value, less self-assurance and less ability to appraise and shape their own lives.

The old division of labour, distinguishing between roles of loving, honouring and obeying, runs counter to attempts to restructure the family as a socio-biological mini-group.

Frau Dane carried out an anonymous survey consisting of written questionnaires. She advertised in daily newspapers for women aged between 25 and 40 who had been married for at least three years.

She interviewed in writing 25 wives who had been deserted by their husbands, 25 wives who themselves had preferred to "quit" and 39 wives who were still married — on a basis of partnership.

The "average" woman in her survey was in her early to mid 30s, lived in an urban north German environment and had been married for between five and 10 years.

She had one or two children and went out to work: nothing special, just the average job.

An initial personality test sounded out how the women saw themselves. Those who had been deserted were found to less frequently feel they could hold their own in life.

They frequently — more frequently than others — felt they were dejected and downtrodden. They tended to blame themselves more often than others and to brood more over inner problems.

Women married on a basis of partnership said they wanted to run their own lives rather than have them run for them. They were less prepared to stomach upsets and more interested in outperforming others.

They were also less prone to vanity, or so they felt.

Women who walked out on their husbands similarly felt they were less vain and saw themselves as fairly strong characters. Yet they tended to reproach themselves and to brood over inner problems.

Respondents' views on marriage and the family and on the roles of man and woman differed substantially.

Women who have been deserted tend to see the woman's role as being more concerned with the family, whereas the man's is more that of the breadwinner.

Family chores are less in keeping with their view of the man's role. They also tend to feel that the welfare of the family must, if need be, prevail over their own plans.

Women married in partnership are strongly in favour of a redistribution of roles allocated to husband and wife. They see and experience themselves as partners on a basis of equality. Most, incidentally, are working wives.

Women who have walked out on their husbands feel the man is entitled to "softer sides" of his character; indeed they expect them of him even though they see him mainly as the strong man and, for the most part, breadwinner.

Another questionnaire dealt with the women's lives and origins. Those who had been deserted were found to come from families in which parental behaviour had been a poor guide to dealing constructively with life and its problems.

They were very keen on instructions and on subordination. They also set great store by "what people felt."

Deserted wives saw marriage as a source of comfort and solace rather than as a way of life they must help to shape.

Women married in partnership tended to see their mothers as having held their own in a marital relationship with an authoritarian husband.

Their mothers had set less store by what people felt and held the view that it was important for girls too to do well in life.

They — the daughters — were given more encouragement to do well, to take up outside ideas and to go further afield than the family.

Women who had walked out on their husbands seldom felt that their marriage had been in keeping with their own views on the subject — despite having discussed matters with their husband.

Their mothers had frequently knuckled under to their fathers, while neither parent had set much store by the views of others.

Mothers had often been very loving, yet unable to lead self-assured lives as women. As seen by their daughters, 50 per cent of these mothers had tended to have bouts of depression.

Their fathers had concentrated on work and paid only limited attention to them, their daughters. Frau Dane felt this was typical of today's family in the patient's role.

Women who had been deserted said, in connection with their marriage and separation, they had suffered mainly from an inability to talk with their husbands (and vice-versa).

Women who had walked out on their husbands were often critical of the husband's lack of readiness to coordinate and reconcile their different interests.

Two out of three couples questioned about the marital situation of women married in partnership said they didn't set aside problems that arose, preferring to discuss them as soon as possible.

They jointly sought a solution acceptable to them both. Yet the woman will often raise a problem while the man is still waiting to see whether it might not solve itself.

Communication on the basis of partnership is thus of great importance for the family as an emotional and working community. Above all, the barriers of traditionally allocated roles must fall.

Men begin to relearn their role at the point where they no longer identify with objective pervormance. Women need more stamina in getting their own way and a greater consciousness of success.

Overburdening women with both running a home and holding down a job is not the solution. There have been no changes in the working world that have been to the benefit of the family which have not been at the woman's expense.

Too few jobs and too heavy pressure to perform at work run counter to new family structures. Yet we need them. So this is a survey that is not just for the experts.

It is for the politicians to create social ceeway for the change that is needed.

Andrea Schaffner

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 February 1989)

'Eva Dane: "Hingabe oder Aufgabe" – Eine empirische Untersuchung zu Familienhintergründen und Persönlichkeitsentwicklung partnerschaftlich verheirateter, verlassener und 'gegangener' Frauen; Deutscher Studien Verlag, Weinheim, DM48.

More children with perception problems

Tobias, 8, lies with his mother at the open-air swimming baths. He can't stop fidgeting and it annoys the mother.

Tobias cannot tell what season it might be from a picture of an autumn landscape showing children flying kites. When he is asked if there is snow on the ground, he first has to run to the window and look.

His teacher says he doesn't follow instructions properly. Tobias' problem is that he has a disability known as a perceptual disorder. He can see and hear well, but what he hears or sees does not get relayed in appropriate form to his mind.

Perceptual disorders are minor malfunctions of the brain which are increasingly found among children.

Hans Sonderegger is a therapist who teaches at a St Gallen school for children with these disorder. He told a conference in Berlin that a specialist could identify such a disorder in the child's first year of life. Poor movement of fingers and hands was one sign.

If an affected child was not given support by both parents and teachers, it would develop inevitably down a "dead end."

Sonderegger, invited to Berlin by a group set up by parents to help affected children, described how such a child experiences its surroundings.

He said that the feeling of unpredictability might be compared with that of an adult who put one foot on a river bank and the other on the frozen but disintegrating icy surface of the river.

Perceptual disorders led to emotional problems and behavioural disturbances. But the children were no less intelligent, they could learn. How were they to be helped? Sonderegger said the primary sense was that of touch. Blind or deaf children had been found at his school to develop in just the same way as sighted children or children with normal hearing — only more slowly.

Children who had difficulty with their sense of touch developed entirely differently. That was why it was so important to help perceptually disordered children to come into tactile contact with their surroundings.

The first step was to lead them. The therapist held the child's hand in, say, beating an egg. A slide transparency was shown to show how keenly the child concentrated on the activity even thought it was not, strictly speaking, in control of it.

Sonderegger said that what mattered was that the children learned as they went about their everyday lives.

Besides a toy could never be taken apart like a lettuce. One a lettuce had ben taken apart, the process was irreversible.

Children were keen on the varied and unexpected difficulties of everyday life. Coping with them was much more exciting than a set of building blocks, which always remained the same.

He would hear nothing of the objection that everyday life was too complex with too many problems occurring at the same time.

Children concentrated on a difficulty by themselves. Besides, perceptually disordered children suffered from a lack of stimuli that ought not to be heightened by one-sided educational toys.

Everyday life was where they learned to hold their own.

In a second step, Swiss therapists added images and sentences to what had been experienced. Beating an egg, for instance, was repeated in images and writing.

In much the same way children were taught to handle figures by means of everyday problems such as sharing a sausage between four people.

Asked by a teacher in the audience about everyday events at school, Sonderegger said everyday events occurred in the classroom too.

A teacher could "help" a perceptually disordered child to open a window — or merely to sit down.

These children, who are often unruly, stood to gain from the teacher concentrating on them, and be it only for two minutes per lesson.

Several members of the audience asked how perceptually disordered children might best be integrated. Sonderegger felt unable to answer in general terms.

The disorder varied from child to child. What mattered was not to leave it alone. In Switzerland very many children with perceptual disorders went to ordinary schools.

Birgit Fleischmann

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 12 February 1989)

View from the port towards the Binnen- and Aussenalster. Alster water, a brown colour, is a popular drink.
(Photo: Hamburg-Info/Freigeg. d. Reg. Präs. Stuttg. Nr. 9/79194)

■ HAMBURG

A harbour is 800 years old, but you don't have to drink standing up

"Few cities offer such a variety of entertainment as Hamburg, where a stranger — presuming he's neither a cynic nor a saint — can spend one or two highly pleasant weeks at any time of the year." So wrote a Scot, John Strang, in 1831 as he began a tour of Germany.

He continued: "During the long summer days, there are two theatres open and, almost every night there is a public concert or a meeting of a musicians club..."

Today, visitors find much the same. There are fewer architectural attractions than in Strang's day. But people are attracted by the hustle and bustle, the cultural life and the shopping.

Many visitors have come over the past few years to see the musical, *Cats*, and have discovered a greener, livelier and friendlier city than they expected.

This year is the 800th birthday of the harbour and *Cats* is still bringing the tourists in. If it doesn't rain for days on end, and that sometimes happens in Hamburg, visitors usually depart with a good impression.

The harbour is always an attraction, even when it rains. But, of course, after 800 years neither the shipping industry nor the harbour itself are what they used to be. In the European rankings, the harbour is now "only" in fourth or fifth place, depending on how it is measured.

But in Germany, it is the top of the list and a sight-seeing tour of it is essential. At Landungsbrücken, the departure point, the tourists can be heard asking: big ship or little ship? The experts reply loudly, with authority: "The tour is the same with both. Only the *Barkassen*, the little ones, they get in closer on the way round. But they rock more."

The harbour is about 87 square kilometres, which means it occupies about a twelfth of Hamburg's surface. It has 235 kilometres of shoreline; there are 168 kilometres of roads and waterways.

And so on and so on; the man on the ship peppers the stream of information with jokes as the boat passes other Barkassen, tugs, cranes, locks, warehouses, past the second-biggest floating dock in the world, past the remains of a former U-boat bunker, past the largest complex of warehouses in the world, and more.

Over there are tanks filled with rum or whisky; that ship riding at anchor over there is filled with schnapps...

Hamburg's second biggest attraction is St. Pauli with its Reeperbahn and Grosser Freiheit, infamous the world over. But it is disappointing, at least from the outside. Travel through in a tourist bus during the day and you see not the establishments themselves but the drab buildings that house them.

At night, the dinginess vanishes and is replaced by the glitter and dazzle of the world of street girls and strip teases. You have to hand it to St. Pauli: there's not much that doesn't happen at the sex shows.

It is best to ask first about which club to visit. Don't let yourself be talked into going into a club by one of the many touts who keep up a stream of persuasive chatter outside the entrances.

Another piece of advice: look carefully at the price list before ordering. Strangers often find themselves having to pay huge bills.

Aids has muddied the waters of certain enjoyments. And so, on the Reeperbahn and the side streets, other types of



entertainment are becoming more evident. There are even two theatres in the area, including the one where *Cats* has been running for three years. There are discos with live interludes featuring well-known pop groups.

On to the fish market. Every Sunday morning from about 6am to 10am, crowds jostle shoulder-to-shoulder round a restored fish-auction hall and in between turn-of-the-century apartment blocks and modern office blocks used by shipping chandlers.

Everything is available, most of it inexpensive: knick-knacks, flowers, vegetables, fish (fresh from the trawler), clothing, items for the kitchen, open sandwiches and African handiwork.

The hawkers never get tired: they cry as loudly at the end of the morning as at the beginning. Eels here, bananas there, interspersed with salty aphorisms. Sometimes they toss their ware into the crowd, oranges, bunches of grapes, bananas, going for nothing.

In the pubs, sea shantys are sung and Eiergrog drunk. Many have have been drinking the whole night through.

The Alster is the lake in the centre of the city. There are two of them, the Binnenalster, right in the centre with its fountains, and the Aussenalster, which reaches from the Lombardsbrücke to the leafy residential areas further north.

Both lakes are artificial. They were formed by damming the River Alster just before it joins up with the Elbe.

A trip in an Alster steamer is essential. The unmistakeable white-painted, flat-roofed vessels used to ply the Alster like trams, back and forward without pause, but now they are no longer on the commuter run but are used for cruises, taking fussing tourists along the narrow waterways which radiate from the Alster between rows of old villas and aging trees.

When the weather is good, there is competition on the water as swarms of yachts and surfboard criss-cross each other's paths. Further on, on the river itself and on the waterways, there are pedal boats which can be hired; and crews of eight pull on their oars as the cox calls the stroke.

Swimming in the Alster was common in the 19th century, but not now — even though the brown fen water is said by the authorities to be again clean enough to swim in.

Certainly 23 types of fish and a few river crabs do now flourish. If you want to drink Alster water, the best way is to ask for a glass of it at a pub or restaurant (*Alsterwasser*): you'll be served a shandy, a mixture of beer and lemonade.

Where there is a lot of water there are also a lot of bridges. The astounding fact is that Hamburg has more bridges than any other city in Europe. Venice has 450, which is way down the list; Amsterdam has about 600, which is better; London has 850, still better; but Hamburg, with 2,100, is a way out on its own. Among these is the highest in Germany, the Köhlbrandbrücke, which is 53 metres high and 3,940 metres long.

Hamburg is a green city. You can wander under oaks, limes, planes, chestnuts and willows on the banks of the Elbe or along the Alster and in the parks, where there are more varieties of trees, bushes and flowers.

In the middle of the city, next to Dammtor station and the congress centre, is Planten un Blomen with its outdoor cafes and roller-skate drome (which becomes an ice-skating rink in winter) and greenhouses where tropical plants and flowers are displayed.

Tourists like the *Wasserlichtorgel* with its display of water and light offering figurative representations of musical interpretation. Hamburg's pensioners favour the sound shell for concerts just a little bit further on. In the summer, orchestras play on Saturday and Sunday afternoons and you can dance to the music. There are more older women than older men, so many ladies go alone, even to dance. The spontaneity often surprises the outsider.

Equally surprising for some is the elegance of the city's shopping malls. Now so many have sprung up that, even when the weather is bad, a full day's shopping can be planned. The gastronomic side is an important part of these shopping canyons.

The Hamburg *Schickeria* regard it as a mark of their genteel standing in life to stand at an open bar eating lobster and sipping champagne.

One of the finest museums is the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (museum for arts and crafts) opposite the Hauptbahnhof (central railway station).

Among many other exhibits it has the most significant collections of faience earthenware and porcelain in Germany and a similar selection of art nouveau exhibits. There is a little restaurant inside where you will find a good salad buffet and a seat: you see, it's not necessary to stand...

One of the smaller museum is devoted to the works of the north German expressionist sculptor and artist, Ernst Barlach. Its 90 sculptures and more than 300 drawings gives a complete view of his work.

There is opera in Hamburg and theatre (more than 20 private groups) and music. Jazz. In the *Kneipen* in the Grossneumarkt, it sounds like New Orleans in the 1920s. Sunday mornings. Hamburg is the city for jazz and for organ music.

Many famous people play and have played on famous organs: George Philipp Telemann, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel; In 1720 Johann Sebastian Bach failed to get the job as organist at St. Jakobi because he didn't have enough money to bribe the minister.

Blankenese, a few kilometres down the Elbe towards the mouth, is an almost village-like settlement of quaint sea captain's houses. Then there is the Sachsenwald, just outside the city limits in Schleswig-Holstein, where, in Friedrichsruh, Bismarck spent his last days.

On the Alte Land, in Lower Saxony, wealthy fruit farmers live in their old half-timbered houses with their richly embellished facades and gables.

Other things to see in Hamburg include Deichstrasse, with its old merchants houses; Hagenbeck's Tierpark (zoo); the Michel (as St. Michael's is universally known), the most important baroque church in north Germany; the old Elbe tunnel and the new one; the 100-year-old warehouse city (which we saw on the harbour trip); and the

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■ FRONTIERS

A Turkish-born politician had to run the gauntlet

Sevim Celebi-Gottschlich was born in Turkey. She has just completed a two-year term as a deputy for the Alternative List (ecologists) in the Berlin assembly. It was a battle all the way. Even her own party was often less than helpful. Susanne Mayer reports for the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*.

The doorman at the Wedding borough Town Hall in West Berlin did his job well, keeping out unauthorised persons.

This included, as he thought, the frail, dark-skinned woman with wild wisps of hair like Medusa. She had a little girl by the hand named Eyla, meaning "Crescent Moon."

The doorman did not know that, of course, nor did he know how these two had been able to get to the centre of his domain, to the very doorway of a reception for the Swedish Prime Minister, Ingvar Carlssohn.

"You've lost your way," he hissed. "Go." He spoke in vain. They were already inside the reception room, both of them.

Sevim Celebi-Gottschlich said: "It was very embarrassing for everyone." She looked as if it had been embarrassing for her as well, but there was no reason for that.

Sevim Celebi-Gottschlich is an Alternative List (AL) member of the Berlin Parliament and as such had been invited to the reception for the Swedish Prime Minister (she found out too late for her to arrange a baby-sitter for her daughter).

For the past two years Alternative List members of the Berlin Parliament in the Schöneberg Town Hall have operated a rotation system. Eventually Sevim Celebi's turn came to take a seat in the Parliament, the first person of Turkish origin to sit in a German parliament.

This has caused a series of embarrassments, but this was the least of them, for Eyla was put on a sofa, given a fruit juice to drink and gently told to be very quiet during the cocktail party.

Sevim Celebi is not the kind of person you get rid of easily, even though her name means something like "The Delightful One."

She said: "It has been a battle from the very beginning. I had to prove myself. I've been alone in this party. No-one has helped me, not for a minute. My predecessor did not even wish me the best of luck."

She pressed her right hand imploringly to her breast. She has beautiful eyes, like a cat, but not tame.

The sun broke into her apartment in a run-down house on Berlin's Fraenkel Ufer. Below along the waterside market stalls were lined up. It could be holiday-time.

She now has to give up her place in Parliament to her predecessor, Heidi Bischoff-Pflanz, who won in the recent Berlin election. Everything should be over, but it isn't.

It is hard to understand why the idea of "the first foreign woman to sit in a German Parliament," so progressive, so effective for public relations, never caught on. It is hard to describe the difficulties the Alternative List itself put in her way.

1986, the year before she took her place in the Berlin Parliament in the rotation system, was a year in which politics were dominated by the question of foreigners in the Federal Republic.

In the first five months of that year 25,000 refugees entered the country, the words "flood of asylum-seekers" and "foreign infiltration" were on everyone'as lips.

Hardly a month went by without an arson attack on a hostel for aslum-seekers. In Berlin the "Fluchtburg" arranged hiding-places for foreigners, threatened with deportation.

The Alternative List representative for aliens policies, Heidi Bischoff-Pflanz, was the confidante of many groups working on behalf of foreigners. But everything came apart when a foreign woman took over these matters in Parliament.

There was a flood of letters from these groups which filed file after file in the Alternative List's parliamentary party office. The gist of the letters was that a foreign woman could not be entrusted with this job. Her predecessor was simply irreplaceable.

Sevim said: "You must not be insulted. It's always like that with the Germans. They do not trust foreigners. They really feel pity for them. That means they say: Ah the poor people. We must help them.

"They can do that with refugees. But worker immigrants no longer let themselves be taken by the hand. They speak up for themselves. Then it appears that the Germans always know how to do things better." Now she was in a fury. "That's modern colonialism," she said.

Sevim Celebi was shocked that she was rejected. She had been unanimously nominated with considerable enthusiasm for the Alternative List.

She wanted to give up and offered her resignation. But when she observed how eager her opponents were for this, she withdrew it, swiftly, for she did not want to make things easy for them.

She now says: "The resistance really whipped me into action." Anyone who knows Sevim Celebi would realise she is like that.

She had said to her mother 20 years ago, to get her way to come to Germany: "Either I get out of here or they take out my dead body."

The "here" was a jerry-built house in the poor quarter of Ankara. Her mother was a cleaning woman. Her daughter helped her and was her friend.

But they were not willing to accept things as they were. She could not care a damn. She was told to put herself at the beck and call of men. She was told to bind her hair and put on black stockings. Her teacher kicked her in the shins when she discovered her wearing white stockings.

Everything went like greased lightning when her mother capitulated and gave her 500 lira, about DM30, for a visa application.

At the end of the week she was sitting next to her handle-less suitcase at Istanbul Airport and said goodbye to the family in a postcard. She said: "That was really a bitter experience."

When the plane landed at Berlin's Tempelhof Airport on a dull day in July 1970 she was in despair. She wept so much she could not give her particulars.

Anyone who is in doubt that Sevim Celebi is not competent to speak for worker immigrants should listen to her story.

She worked on the production line at Siemens for DM2.20 an hour, doing the same movements with her hands all the time: place the screw-driver inside, turn it a little, watch out for the little lamp and turn the screw again and again. She worked in three shifts.

Her new home was a room, four beds, a table, four chairs. It was like being in a camp.

She wanted to get out of all that and she did. She worked at Siemens for two years. For three months she sewed the hems of overcoats.

She sold articles for presents in a department store and worked as a cashier at the pay-out in a supermarket. She went through the tests for a taxi-driver's licence.

After working five years she was eligible for a student grant she studied at night school for her O-levels. She worked on social studies.

For a long time she involved herself in local affairs, in district groups and shops selling Third World goods, on an aliens committee and a Turkish women's group.

In this group she squatted in a house, "the large yellow one over there," she said. The squatters included 18 women and children. The workers beat them, but did not evict them.

This was done by anxiety, the foreign worker's anxiety about German law. These workers are nothing before the law.

Sevim Celebi said in her maiden speech before Berlin's House of Parliament on 10 September 1987:

"You asked for workers and people came. No-one gave a thought as to how we would manage in everyday life, work with the machinery in the factories or deal with the foreign language in this country. The main thing is that we were healthy and dumb."

(There was considerable agitation among the CDU members of the House. Alternative List Kuhn said: "Listen, you ignorant people.")

Sevim Celebi's political opponents had one problem trying to listen to her; she began her maiden speech in Turkish. (Representative Simon (CDU) said: "The President of the House must reprimand her."

She began her work with dash, putting in 60 hours a week, she said, for which her family suffered.

In her new job she was "frighteningly engaged, but purely emotional." She argued with and criticised her opposite number in the House, Rolf-Peter Lange (FDP).

But she misunderstood political skirmishes as personal attacks, according to Heinz Schicks (CDU).

Sevim Celebi gave an interview to Turkish cable television, pointing out that she had to reach the people via their media. She was castigated for the interview by the Alternative List as "a right-wing Turk."



Struggle right from the start ... Sevim Celebi. (Photo: Rheinströhm)

She battled for the unlimited right for families to reunite and asked the Turkish consulate for support — and was accused of being in alliance with the fascists.

She supported Islamic religious teaching in German schools — and in so doing disregarded the Alternative List's veto against religious education of all kinds.

At the AL's women's conference last April she said that she had heard the comment that women should only talk to Islamic women when they had taken off their head scarves.

She said: "I asked myself are we dealing with foreigners affairs or just in left-wing politics?"

Her greatest adversary in the AL is the foreigners sector, of all things, which she disparagingly calls "the Germans sector."

Sevim Celebi now sits on the Immigrants Political Forum (IPF), an alliance of 18 various foreigners organisations such as the Greek Community and the African Culture Centre. It is made up of representatives from over 100 nationalities and operates from Berlin.

She said: "We have been a city receiving immigrants for a long time. There are 240,000 foreigners living here."

With a part of her last parliamentary allowance she intends to turn three musty rooms in the cellar of the house where she lives into offices for the IPF. She proudly pointed to the filthy shop windows and shows the offices from which foreigners will battle for voting rights for foreigners in local elections, in which possibly at the next Berlin election they will put up their own list of candidates, "as a counterweight to right-wing tendencies," she said.

On the pavement four or five Turkish girls were playing. They greeted her with "Selam." Sevim Celebi said: "My borough of Kreutzberg is so beautiful!"

She was asked if she felt at home here? She said that she would not like to answer this question "so personally."

She referred to the ban on foreigners moving into Wedding. If she, a German citizen since 1983, invited her mother to visit her, they had to wait six months for a visa. She angrily asked: "Is that equal rights?"

Before a visit to their husbands in Germany Turkish women have to sign a statement saying that they would not become pregnant.

"Such a humiliation!" she said. She repeated over and over again that foreigners have the "anxiety that they will always be regarded as scapegoats."

So is she at home here? Isn't her answer to be understood in the negative?

Susanne Mayer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 3 February 1989)

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man Derby, the horse-race at Horner Rennbahn.

There is also Dom, the biggest festival in the north of the country, summer events on the Alster and the German tennis championships at Rothenbaum. And of course, this year is something special, because it is the 800th birthday of the harbour. And there are no half measures; 47 million marks have been set aside to celebrate it.

There will be parades of ships; an international big-yacht regatta; special exhibitions including one showing ship's menus from the 19th century; an international theatre and ballet festival; a musical event comemmorating Klaus Störtebeker (a real-enough Hamburg pirate of legendary deed); a film festival with piratical themes; soccer matches; and firework displays above the Alster. The entire celebration will have as its centrepoint a super festival around the harbour from 3 May until 7 May.

Ralf-Dieter Uhlig

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 February 1989)